

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

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VOL. IX.

TORONTO, MARCH, 1928

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE National Research Council of the United States has approved of a project for "An Investigation of the Pioneer Areas of Canada and of the Northern Great Plains." While a tentative appropriation of \$25,000 a year for each of four years has been made, the execution of the plan is contingent upon securing liberal support and co-operation from Canadian sources. Special observation will be given to the processes of social change which take place as men adapt themselves to new physical conditions and to strange neighbours. The investigation initiated by Professor F. J. Turner over thirty years ago and pursued by an increasing army of scholars ever since, has shown that, probably, the most vital and characteristic factor in the history of the United States has been the frontier. It has exerted an unbroken influence since the beginnings of European settlement on this continent. The history of America is, indeed, a continuous illustration of the changes which affect institutions and ideas transplanted to a new environment, and of the processes by which diverse groups are assimilated into closely knit social and economic communities. Improved means of transportation and communication have in recent times greatly accelerated these processes, but the fact remains that in many respects the changes are fundamentally the same in every period. For these reasons, such a study as is suggested would have considerable interest for students of Canadian history, even although it would throw only an indirect light on conditions in the past. Western Canada, with its various racial groups, offers admirable illustrations of the evolution of

frontier communities, and the investigation might very well produce a document of great value to the Canadian historians of the future. There are marked differences between the history of the frontier in Canada and in the United States, but it is safe to say that attitudes of mind resulting from frontier conditions have been a far more constant and powerful influence than has yet been made clear by the historians of Canada.

The *Annual Report* for 1926, issued a short time since by the Public Archives at Ottawa, includes the usual lengthy list of acquisitions which students have come to expect. Of exceptional value are the papers of the eminent banking houses of Baring Brothers, and Glyn, Mills and Company. These institutions financed many of the most important undertakings in both Canada and the United States, and their correspondence is a mine of information on the economic and political history of both countries. Through the kindness of Lord Revelstoke, present head of the Baring house, the Archives has received custody of all the papers of these banking houses which related to their transactions in North America down to the year 1871. Notable also is the copy of the *Atlantic Neptune*, formerly in the possession of Lord Amherst who received the capitulation of Canada in 1760. The three volumes contain charts of the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England, with over one hundred beautifully executed plates of views, many of which do not appear in any other known copy of the work. The Department of National Defence has begun to deposit in the Archives the records of the Great War; some ten thousand folios are in course of transfer. There is an extensive list of transcripts from Canadian sources as well as from London and Paris. Among the original papers received, are a journal of the Red River Expedition of 1870 by Mathew Bell-Irvine; Sandfield Macdonald papers, 1850-1868; papers relating to Sir George E. Cartier; and eleven volumes of Sir Charles Tupper's papers.

The plan that the forthcoming meeting of the Canadian Historical Association should take place in Winnipeg is a departure from the usual practice, which is, however, more than justified by the work which Western scholars have done during recent years, and by the general interest in Canadian history which is displayed by many western communities. The programme is rapidly taking shape, the following papers being already promised: Professor R. G. Trotter, *Canadian interest in the history of the United States*;

Professor Chester Martin, *Head's memorandum on Confederation*; Mr. William Smith, *The reception of the Durham Papers in Canada*; M. Léon Gérin, *En marge de la vie de Ryland*; Dr. Adam Shortt, *The Baring Papers*; M. Gustave Lanctot, *Le principe électif dans la Nouvelle France*; Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, *The annexation movement in British Columbia*; M. Camille Bertrand, *Les concessions des terres publiques de 1796 à 1840*; Mr. Norman Fee, *Maps and plans in the Public Archives of Canada*. The present plan is to hold the meeting on May 25 and 26.

Plans for the meeting of the sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences have been in preparation for some time. The meeting is to be held at Oslo on August 14-18, 1928. Canada does not appear to have been included among the countries invited to send representatives, but we understand that steps are being taken to rectify this omission.

The REVIEW has been asked to note that M. Guy de la Batut, *archiviste paléographe* and librarian at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, and his colleagues in the various French libraries, will be glad to obtain copies of historical documents, or to undertake researches for scholars who are unable to procure such information personally.

The first paper in this issue, by Professor George E. Wilson of Dalhousie University, is a valuable contribution to the history of the confederation period. By the use of material which has only recently become available, the author has been able to throw new light on the critical situation in New Brunswick during the years 1865 and 1866. Mr. J. N. Wallace of Ottawa in his article on *The Explorer of Finlay River in 1824* rescues from obscurity another of the minor figures in the long story of Western exploration. Mr. Justice Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario contributes from an unpublished journal a contemporary account of the courts of Lower Canada in the early nineteenth century. The REVIEW presents in this issue its second annual list of graduate theses in history, government, and economics.

NEW BRUNSWICK'S ENTRANCE INTO CONFEDERATION¹

DURING the month of October, 1864, representatives from the five provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland met at Quebec, and drew up seventy-two resolutions, which it was hoped would serve as a basis of union. It took less than three weeks to draw up the resolutions, it took almost three years to secure their adoption. Even then the union was a union of three provinces, and not of five. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland had dropped out.

The long delay cannot be blamed on the Canadian government. It lost no time in bringing the question of confederation before parliament. During February and March, 1865, the Quebec resolutions were discussed, and in the end were passed by large majorities in both the Legislative Council and the Assembly.

A much more difficult task faced Tupper in Nova Scotia and Tilley in New Brunswick. Of these colonies, Nova Scotia was much the more important by reason of history, wealth, and population. From the point of view of confederation, however, New Brunswick held an unique position. She was not only important on her own account, but important because her action largely determined the course Nova Scotia must follow. Geographical considerations made it quite feasible for New Brunswick to enter confederation with Canada even if Nova Scotia remained out; Nova Scotia, however, could not enter confederation if New Brunswick did not come in. New Brunswick was the key province, and Tupper's political strategy in 1865 and in 1866 can only be understood by remembering how dependent he was upon events in New Brunswick, and by keeping very clearly in mind what those events were.

Although the demand was made in both Canada and Nova Scotia that the question of confederation be left to popular vote, in both provinces it was refused. Only in New Brunswick was such a vote taken. In March, 1865, the Tilley government, which sponsored the new scheme, was overwhelmed at the polls, and an

¹Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, December, 1926.

anti-confederate government came into office. Barely a year had gone by when that government was forced to resign, and, in the election that followed, it met with a defeat as decisive as its previous victory had been. The new government took immediate action to bring the province into confederation.

The narrative of these facts raises many questions. Why did the Tilley government appeal to the people so soon after the Quebec resolutions were made public? Was it a case of necessity or of choice? Was the question of confederation the chief issue in the election? Above all, why was the overwhelming victory of the anti-confederate government in 1865 followed by its even more decisive defeat in 1866? Was it because of the faults of the new government? Was it owing to the educative work of Leonard Tilley on behalf of federation? Did the Imperial government exert any influence? Did the Canadian government play any part in the final decision? Was the change owing to the need of greater unity, which was made apparent by the threatened Fenian invasion? Or was the change one, as Campbell in his *History of Nova Scotia* suggests, for which any person acquainted with politics in New Brunswick feels it quite unnecessary to ask the reason?

However, before discussing the various lines of action open to Tilley on his return from Quebec, it is necessary to understand the position of the lieutenant-governor of the province. He was to play a part in the drama second only to that of Tilley himself. Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, afterwards (1893) first Baron Stanmore, held the office of lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick from 1861 to 1866. He was the son of the Lord Aberdeen who had been prime minister of England during the Crimean War. Gordon was a very active and industrious governor, intensely interested in the scheme for Maritime union and in the later larger scheme of confederation.

According to Hannay, he was a strong advocate of Maritime union because he hoped to be the first governor of the united province. He was, accordingly, very much opposed to the larger scheme of confederation, and his opposition was one of the chief factors in bringing about the defeat of Tilley's government.² Hannay says that it was believed that his visit to England in 1865 was the result of a summons, that in England he had to submit to a severe reproof "for his anti-constitutional meddling in a matter that did not concern him," and that he was only allowed

²James Hannay, *Sir Leonard Tilley* (Toronto, 1926), p. 97.

to return on condition that he do all in his power to carry confederation. The reproof was effective, and he asserts that Gordon returned a changed man.³ Pope, in his *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald*, says that Gordon was later sent as governor to Trinidad because he had opposed confederation.⁴

None of these statements is entirely true. Gordon was, indeed, interested in the question of Maritime union. He accepted an invitation to Charlottetown at the time of the conference. He did so willingly, he wrote to Cardwell the colonial secretary, as he had "long taken a warm interest in the legislative and administrative union of the Lower Provinces."⁵ At Charlottetown he met the Canadian ministers and had considerable conversation with them, especially with Galt who appeared to him to be far the ablest of their number.⁶ Later, when the delegates visited Fredericton, Cartier, Galt, and Brown were guests at government house, and the lieutenant-governor had another opportunity of discussing the proposed scheme of union. His opinion was clear and decisive. He was very much in favour of a legislative union of all the colonies in British North America but very much opposed to a federal union. Such a federal union as was proposed would, he thought, be useless and costly. It would leave the provincial governments much as they were, and simply add another weak government at their head.⁷ He cited Lord Durham in favour of his scheme of legislative union, as well as former speeches of John A. Macdonald and George Brown. He was opposed to a federal scheme which included the separation again of Upper and Lower Canada. A federal union meant a weak and divided government, a legislative union meant a strong and united one. At the conclusion of a very long confidential despatch to Cardwell, dated October 11, 1864, Gordon stated his attitude to the proposed federal union:

In closing this despatch I may be permitted to resume the substance of the observations it contains. I agree with Lord Durham and the other high authorities in considering all schemes of Federal Union to be clumsy and costly substitutes for legislative

³*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴Sir Joseph Pope, *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, n.d.), p. 29, note.

⁵Canadian Archives, *New Brunswick Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, Sept. 12, 1864.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell (Confidential), Oct. 11, 1864.

unity—I consider such legislative unity impracticable at the moment, but by no means hopeless at a future and no distant day. Meanwhile if it is desired that immediate steps should be taken to bring the British North American Provinces into closer connection, I see no objection to the retention of municipal bodies invested with very large powers, provided they are, in all respects, subordinate to the central authority. I am far from wishing that the Imperial Parliament should over conscientiously scan the details of any measure such as that now contemplated or weigh too nicely the exact attributes of the central and local bodies, but if Parliament lightly sanction any plan laid before it, of which the main object seems to be to sever the union of the two Canadas accomplished in 1840, and does not insist on the adoption of one great principle of central supremacy, I fear that instead of conferring benefit on B.N.A. it will inflict a lasting injury which it will be beyond even its own powers to repair.⁸

The British government, however, was satisfied with the Quebec plan, and Cardwell wrote to Lord Monck commending it.⁹ “Her Majesty’s government are anxious to lose no time in conveying to you their general approval of the proceedings of the conference.” They felt that the objection urged by Gordon, that the central government had not sufficient power, was unfounded. “They are glad to observe that although large powers of Legislation are intended to be vested in local bodies, yet the principle of central control has been steadily kept in view.”⁹ A copy of this despatch was sent to the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick “for his information and guidance.”

Gordon replied that he would act in conformity “with Her Majesty’s gracious commands” but that he had grave doubts if any such central supremacy would be established, and expressed his conviction, that if the new constitution was adopted in its present form, it would inflict grave, if not irreparable, injury on the social and political well-being of the different provinces of British North America. Under the circumstances, he thought it not improbable that Her Majesty’s government might wish to send out another governor. Gordon accordingly tendered his resignation.¹⁰ It was not accepted, and from this date, January 2, 1865, his whole influence was thrown on the side of the scheme which had

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Canadian Archives, *Series G*, vol. 172, p. 382.

¹⁰*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, Jan. 2, 1865.

been drawn up at Quebec, and blessed by the colonial office. Gordon's visit to England, mentioned by Hannay, took place seven months after this despatch was written, and was not the result of a summons from the colonial office but in order to attend to private business. On July 31, 1865, he wrote asking for two months leave of absence. Two weeks later, on August 14, he wrote saying that his need of returning to England was so urgent that he was anticipating the leave asked for, and was sailing on the next mail steamer from Halifax. On October 28, he arrived back in New Brunswick and resumed the administration.

When Tilley returned from the Quebec conference in the autumn of 1864, the problem that faced him was somewhat different from the problem that faced Tupper in Nova Scotia and the Canadian coalition government in Canada. Given parliamentary support, they could refuse to refer the question to a popular vote. It was much more difficult to avoid it in New Brunswick as a provincial election was due in the ordinary course of events in the summer of 1865. If, however, the government so desired, one more session might be held before the election. Tilley had three choices: (i) He might dissolve parliament without calling the extra session, and fight the election on the question of confederation; (ii) he might call the extra session, and try to secure its consent to the Quebec resolutions; (iii) he might call the extra session, bring only routine business before it, and then dissolve and fight the elections on the confederation issue.

Tupper and Macdonald thought Tilley ought to call the extra session, and put the resolutions through without going to the people. Public opinion in New Brunswick, however, was so strong against any scheme of rushing through confederation just before an election, that Tilley and his government publicly pledged themselves not to do so.¹¹ It was a bad precedent, Tupper wrote to Macdonald.¹²

Tilley's own wish was to hold the extra session, dispose of current business, and then dissolve. By that time, the public would have had a better opportunity to appreciate the merit of the Quebec scheme.¹³ Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, however, was opposed to this plan. It meant delay, and he thought the government ought to dissolve at once. Although the original apathy of

¹¹Canadian Archives, *Macdonald Papers*, VI, Tilley to Macdonald, Nov. 23, 1864.

¹²*Ibid.*, VI, 53, Tupper to Macdonald, Dec. 13, 1864.

¹³*Ibid.*, VI, Tilley to Galt, undated.

the people to the question of federation had been replaced by a more unfriendly feeling, he had no doubts that his present government would be returned. He thought that most of the members in the Assembly, both in and out of the government, wanted an extra session in order to secure their pay before submitting to the chances of an election.¹⁴

On January 14, 1865, Gordon sent Tilley a letter marked "Private and confidential," in which he strongly urged the arguments in favour of an immediate dissolution. The last session is always difficult. It would be doubly so if the legislature did not know whether it was legislating for an independent province or for a small portion of a federal state. Even if the government does not ask the legislature for its approval of the Quebec scheme, who is going to guarantee that the opposition will not bring in a motion of censure? Delay is not courteous to the Canadian government. It is still more embarrassing to the government of Nova Scotia. An election will soon be due in England. More complications may arise there if New Brunswick holds up action in Canada. Gordon ended his letter by saying that, if the government insists on its policy of delay, it "will be necessary for me officially to record my opinion on the minutes of the Executive Council."¹⁵ Gordon's letter was effective, and, on the January 23, he was able to write to the governor-general that it was his intention to dissolve the existing legislature immediately. A week later, he wrote to Cardwell that he had no doubt as to the triumph of the government. Except at St. John and in the counties of Westmoreland and York he did not think that the question of confederation would affect the result.¹⁶ On the same day Tilley wrote to the lieutenant-governor explaining why he had wished for delay. The people of New Brunswick had not yet time to consider the question. "We have many prejudices to overcome and much information to be given before we can expect success." Although he had consented to the election, he closed his letter with the following sentence, "I can not refrain, however, from stating that our chance of success would have been increased by adhering to our original design."¹⁷

Tilley's fears proved only too well founded. On March 6, Gordon wrote to the colonial secretary that the proposed confeder-

¹⁴*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, Jan. 16, 1865.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Gordon to Tilley, Jan. 14, 1865.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell (Confidential), Jan. 30, 1865.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Tilley to Gordon, Jan. 30, 1865.

ation of the British North American provinces had met "with a most decided rejection in New Brunswick." He was not prepared, he admitted, "for such a result as that which I have now the honour to report to you." The Tilley government had been defeated by a vote of 14 to 27. Macdonald thought the result was what the New Brunswick government deserved from its unstatesmanlike action in bringing on the election.¹⁸

In Nova Scotia Tupper had postponed bringing the Quebec resolutions before the house so as to avoid injuring in any way Tilley's chances in New Brunswick. He himself was now on the defensive owing to the result of the New Brunswick election. In order to prevent a hostile motion in the Nova Scotian House, he brought in a motion to take up again the question of Maritime union, as "under existing circumstances an immediate union of the B. N. A. Provinces had become impracticable."¹⁹ It saved the situation in Nova Scotia, although, as Tilley wrote to Galt, it certainly did not help the confederate party in New Brunswick.²⁰ In this same letter to Galt, Tilley explained the results of the recent election, told how the election had been brought on against his better judgment, but ended by asserting his conviction "that the day was not far distant when a majority of the electors of New Brunswick would declare in favour of a Federal Union of B. N. A."

On March 27, 1865, the Tilley government resigned. One member of that government, G. L. Hatheway, had resigned before the election as a protest against the confederation scheme. The lieutenant-governor now offered him the opportunity of forming a new government. When he declined, the governor sent for R. D. Wilmot and Albert J. Smith, and they organized the new anti-confederate government. On April 10, the governor sent to the colonial secretary an account of the various members of his new executive council. The letter was marked confidential, and is very frank. Mr. Smith, the president of the council, is a man of some ability and considerable obstinacy, "possesses the merits of honesty of purpose and resolution," is a radical, but very hostile to the United States. Mr. Allen is "a gentleman of education and position," greatly respected by all parties. Mr. Gilmor is a man of no education or ability, but his intentions are honourable and upright. Mr. Hatheway, who was now a member of the govern-

¹⁸Pope, *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 23, Macdonald to Hon. John Hamilton Gray, March 24, 1865.

¹⁹*Nova Scotia Journals*, 1865; resolution moved April 11, 1865.

²⁰*Macdonald Papers*, VI, 80, Tilley to Galt, undated.

ment, "is a man destitute of education and I fear of principle and altogether unfit for the position he holds." Mr. R. D. Wilmot is an honest and able gentleman. Mr. Anglin is "a man of some ability but of singularly narrow mind." Gordon concludes his despatch with a comparison between his new cabinet and the old:

On the whole the personnel of the new government is an improvement on that of the previous council. A decided majority of its members are men of undoubted ability and two or three of their members are educated gentlemen. There is no man amongst them of the natural abilities of Mr. Tilley, but on the other hand there is no man so utterly incapable and inefficient as were some members of my late executive council.²¹

The governor, however, doubted whether the rule of educated gentlemen would last long. "It is true," he wrote, "that they have amongst their members an Irish rebel and one of the least estimable members of the late government, but I doubt whether these elements will suffice to enable them to retain the favour of the democracy."²²

The new government, however, were determined to retain the favour of their anti-confederate supporters, and equally determined that the British government should have no illusions as to the attitude of New Brunswick on this all important subject. On May 22, 1865, they sent a memorandum to the governor, signed by every member of the council, which they requested him to transmit to England. The document ran thus:

Our attention has been recently attracted by a statement in the London *Times* newspaper to the effect that the confederation scheme of the B.N.A. Provinces is progressing favourably. We entertain no doubt that your Excellency's reports to the Colonial Office have placed Mr. Cardwell in possession of the real state of the public mind on that subject, but as we are anxious that no doubt should exist in the minds of the English government as to the present state of this question, we would request your Excellency at once to inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies how entirely this scheme has been rejected by the people of this province, and that we have strong reasons to believe, and do believe, that with the exception of a party in Halifax, the Legislature and people of Nova Scotia are, if possible, still more opposed to the project than those of New Brunswick. The House of Assembly in Prince Edward Island, as your Excellency

²¹*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, April, 10, 1865.

²²*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell (Confidential), May 8, 1865.

is aware, has rejected it almost unanimously, and the House of Assembly of Newfoundland resolved to postpone the consideration of it until after their next election, and we venture the opinion that Canada is the only province in British America favourable to the scheme.

On June 24, Cardwell wrote a despatch to Gordon commending the scheme of federation as agreed upon at Quebec. This brought from the council another protest. They could not discover anything in the new scheme "that gave promise of either moral or material advantage to the Empire or to themselves, or that afforded a prospect of improved administration or increased prosperity." The Quebec resolutions failed to satisfy even those who desired a real union. They could find no "provisions whatever for the accomplishment of a fusion which, in the words of Mr. Cardwell's despatch, would unite in one government all the B. N. A. provinces, uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole." The minute of the council concluded with the assertion that the reason the Canadians are so keen for federation is that they want to get out of their "existing difficulties". Their anxiety for federation is not nearly so great as their anxiety for the separation of Upper and Lower Canada. Unless, however, they succeed in bringing about the larger union, they cannot conceal this fact from the Imperial government.

While the New Brunswick government protested against union with Canada, it was willing to take up again the question of Maritime union. Tupper had tempered the wind to the confederation scheme in Nova Scotia by falling back on the less ambitious plan. On May 25, Smith moved a resolution in favour of appointing delegates "to confer with the government of N. S. and P. E. I. on the subject of such union." The motion carried 27 to 4.²³

The New Brunswick government might protest its loyalty, as it did, but that did not conceal the fact that it was opposing a policy of which the Imperial government approved. The lieutenant-governor might have once been a critic of the Quebec resolutions; he was now the agent of the Imperial government, and, as such, a supporter of the confederate opposition against his anti-confederate advisers. His council were quite aware, Gordon wrote to Cardwell, that he would dissolve the house as soon as it was apparent that a new election would reverse the verdict of the last.²⁴

²³*Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick*, p. 174.

²⁴*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, May 22, 1865.

He was prepared to take advantage of any difference in his cabinet. He was prepared to reverse the governor's usual role of a peacemaker. Gordon did not find his task difficult, as there were two distinct and conflicting schools of thought in his council. Some of the ministers were opposed to the union on any terms, others were in favour of union but not on the basis of the Quebec resolutions. The cabinet might be called anti-confederate, but, only in part, could it be called anti-unionist. Less than two months after the new ministers had taken office, Gordon wrote to Cardwell:

When the session has closed, I shall endeavour to turn their difference to account, and if a union founded on an agreement of sentiment as to the necessity of closer connection between the B. N. A. Provinces could be effected between Mr. Tilley and the more respectable members of the Late Cabinet and a portion of the existing government, I think the success of the scheme tolerably certain.²⁵

If responsible government means anything, it means that a governor must accept the advice of his advisers, and not plot against them with the leader of the opposition. It cannot be said that Gordon observed this rule. In his letters to the colonial secretary, he speaks time and again of having discussed the political situation with Tilley. On May 22, 1865, he writes that Tilley intends to remain quiet till November, and then begin a systematic campaign to educate the public on the question of confederation.

He proposes to avail himself of the machinery of the Temperance Societies, of which he is a very prominent member, and to hold meetings at which petitions are to be adopted, praying that the Legislature will adopt measures to effect a closer union of the B.N.A. Provinces, and that in the event of their not doing so the existing Parliament may be dissolved by me.

For the time being Gordon says he and Tilley are agreed that any immediate action "would be premature and injudicious."

An opportunity to test public opinion came sooner than Gordon or Tilley expected. In September, Chief Justice Carter resigned, and the senior judge, Justice Parker, took his place. Allen, the attorney-general, and perhaps the most highly respected member in the government, was elevated to the bench. Albert Smith, president of the Executive Council, took his place as attorney-general. This change necessitated two elections. Smith had

²⁵*Ibid.*

to seek re-election in his county of Westmoreland, while a successor to the former attorney-general had to be elected in the county of York. Much to Cardwell's disappointment, Smith was returned unopposed in Westmoreland.²⁶ At first it seemed probable that an anti-confederate would have equal fortune in York. Charles Fisher, a leading supporter of Tilley and a delegate to the Quebec Conference, decided to contest the constituency, and after a lively contest was elected. There might be some doubt whether the election indicated a real change in public opinion as Fisher's friends did their best to keep the question of confederation out of the election, and Fisher himself gave a pledge to oppose confederation if presented to the present parliament.²⁷ Nevertheless, the friends of union regarded Fisher's return as a triumph for their cause. Lord Monck wrote to Macdonald that he thought it was the most important thing that had happened since the Quebec Conference.²⁸ He sent his congratulations to Macdonald and his colleagues. A letter of Tilley to Macdonald before the election throws light on the reason why the Canadian ministers deserved congratulations on Fisher's success. Tilley had written:

I am quite confident Fisher can be returned under any circumstances with an expenditure of eight or ten thousand dollars. If this should be considered necessary, is there any chance of the friends in Canada providing half the expenditure, not to exceed five thousand dollars for their share?

He went on to say that although they had little chance against Smith, he considered St. John city and county theirs at any time, "if we can go into the field with a fair share of the needful."²⁹ On the back of this letter there is written, "My dear Galt, read this. What about the monies? J. A. MacD."

The New Brunswick government were becoming more and more conscious that, in opposing confederation, they were opposing a policy very much desired by the Imperial government. On June 17, 1865, Cardwell wrote to Lord Monck that Her Majesty's government were determined to use "every proper means of influence to carry into effect without delay the proposed confederation."³⁰ A week later, on June 24, the colonial secretary wrote to Gordon, sending him a copy of the correspondence between

²⁶*Macdonald Papers*, VI, 174, Monck to Macdonald, Nov. 22, 1865.

²⁷*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, Nov. 20, 1865.

²⁸*Macdonald Papers*, Monck to Macdonald, Nov. 22, 1865.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Tilley to Macdonald, Sept. 13, 1865.

³⁰Canadian Archives, *Series G*, vol. 174, p. 54, Cardwell to Monck, June 17, 1865.

himself and Lord Monck on the affairs of British North America, which correspondence Gordon was asked to communicate to the legislature of his province. "You will at the same time express the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's government that it is an object much to be desired that all the B. N. A. colonies should agree to unite in one government." The Home government felt that it had a right, and even an obligation, to urge "with earnestness and just authority" the advantage of such a union for the purpose of self-defence. Her Majesty's government, therefore, "trust that after a full and careful examination of the subject in all its bearings, the Maritime Provinces will perceive the great advantages which in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government the proposed union is calculated to confer upon them all."

Gordon not only sent a copy of this despatch to his council, but had it printed in the *Royal Gazette*.³¹ It thereby became public property. No person could have any doubt as to the wishes of the Home government.

On December 4, 1865, Gordon wrote that the sentiment in favour of union had greatly increased, while the opponents of confederation had lost confidence as well as members. They felt that union was a measure "which with or without their consent is certain ere long to be accomplished, and which it is consequently useless, and it may be imprudent, any longer to resist."

So great was the change of feeling that Gordon had high hopes that his present government might itself take up the cause of union. Anglin, the most violent anti-confederate in the council, had resigned in November over a question of railroad policy.³² Several of the remaining members, he wrote, were ready to accept the Quebec scheme with any trifling modification which would afford them a loophole for escaping from the reproach of inconsistency, while the remainder had avowed themselves by no means hostile to union apart from the details of the Quebec scheme.

The decision of the government as a body will ultimately rest with its leader, Mr. Smith. His mind is not fully made up, but I am not at all certain that he will not yet declare himself a friend of union. Indeed at the end of a long conversation with me of several hours duration a few days ago he discussed the means by which such a measure was to be carried in a tone and spirit which led me to infer

³¹*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, July 15, 1865.

³²*Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1865.

that he would finally determine to take a part in securing its adoption. Should he do so, its success is at once assured.³³

Gordon was most anxious that union should be carried by the present House of Assembly and by the present government. Not only would the province escape the turmoil and expense of an election at a most inconvenient season of the year, but union, if carried in this way, "would not wear the character of a party triumph."³⁴

In any event the lieutenant-governor was determined to force the issue. If the present ministry finally decided not to support union, they would be forced to give way to one that would. He was not going to be deceived by empty professions on the part of his council.

Against this danger I propose to guard by compelling the adoption of a decided policy when the time for the assembly of the Legislature draws near. I then propose to submit to my council the draft of a paragraph in my speech from the throne, in which I intend to invite both branches of the Legislature again seriously to consider the question of an union of the B. N. A. Provinces, and shall express a hope that such an union will speedily be accomplished. If my government are content to adopt such language, all difficulty is at an end, and the resolutions will be adopted by both houses with trifling opposition. If, on the contrary, my council as a body decline to make themselves responsible for the enunciation of such sentiments, the time will, I think, have arrived at which a change of government may be effected and a dissolution tried.³⁵

On December 4, 1865, when Gordon wrote the above despatch, he was very hopeful that his council would finally support union. Some two months later, on February 12, he wrote another long "confidential" letter to Cardwell, in which he again canvassed the situation in New Brunswick. He was now less optimistic, although still hopeful of avoiding the necessity of using drastic measures. Conditions, however, had changed for the worse owing to the resignation of the Hon. R. D. Wilmot from the council. Gordon had placed his chief reliance on Wilmot to win over the government to the cause of union. He tried to persuade him to reconsider his resignation, but Wilmot felt that he had received a personal slight from the attorney-general, and refused to meet him again at the council board.

³³*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, Dec. 4, 1865.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

The governor then considered the possibility of using the resignation of Wilmot to force the resignation of the government. The government had originally been formed by Smith and Wilmot, and, if Gordon now refused to accept the latter's resignation, he could force the retirement of the former. The governor recognized the danger of such a measure, particularly as Wilmot was not a popular man. He was prepared, however, to take the risk if the government refused to agree to the insertion of a recommendation in favour of union in the speech from the throne. He prepared for such a refusal by ascertaining that Wilmot and Peter Mitchell, a leading member of the late Executive Council, would form an administration if necessary.³⁶

Albert Smith, the head of the government was at this time in Washington, seeking, along with the Canadian representatives, to secure the extension of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Until his return, Gordon refused either to accept or refuse Wilmot's resignation. On February 14, Smith returned, and Gordon at once took up the question of Wilmot's resignation and the policy the government intended to pursue on the question of union.

In these conversations between the governor and his chief minister, it is impossible to say with certainty what exactly was promised. Smith and Gordon afterwards gave very contradictory accounts. Certain things, however, are clear. Smith found himself in a very difficult position. He suspected, with only too much justice, that the governor was in communication with the opposition and would be only too glad to dispense with his present council if the opportunity offered. He knew that the governor had the support of the colonial secretary, and had instructions from London to commend union as soon as the legislature met. He knew that, if he absolutely refused to have anything to do with union, the governor would, instead of accepting Wilmot's resignation, ask the latter to form a government.

Under the circumstances Smith and his council agreed to make some concessions. They would agree to union being commended in the speech from the throne, but not in the emphatic terms Gordon had desired.³⁷ They also agreed that the despatches commending union should be referred to a joint committee of the two houses. Gordon afterwards said, and so reported in his despatches to the colonial secretary, that it was understood that this commit-

³⁶*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, Feb. 12, 1866.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, March 12, 1866.

tee would make a recommendation in favour of union, which the government would then take up.³⁸ Smith very emphatically denied that there was any such understanding. However, before anything was done, and before the meeting of the New Brunswick house, Smith asked the governor to observe the greatest secrecy for a week while he saw his friends and discovered whether they would support the government in its new policy.³⁹ On March 5, Gordon wrote that Smith had returned and informed him, "that his party generally are willing to assent to the course which he has consented to pursue."

There might be disputes afterwards as to what that course was, but the governor had cause to be elated. If the anti-confederate government would bring about union the great object was achieved. By failing to achieve union, the anti-confederate government would be discredited. Gordon thought they were discredited in any case. He wrote to Cardwell:

This decision of my government enables me confidently to assert that whatever be their own fate, and I consider their retention of office under the circumstances very doubtful, the confederation scheme will, in a few weeks be acceded to by this province, and I beg to congratulate Her Majesty's government on the success of an object, the attainment of which they have so decidedly desired.⁴⁰

The New Brunswick house met on March 8, and the speech from the throne, without definitely committing the government, expressed very clearly the wishes of the British ministry.

I have received Her Majesty's commands to communicate to you a correspondence on the affairs of B. N. A. which has taken place between Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor-General of Canada; and I am further directed to express to you the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's government that it is an object much to be desired that all the B. N. A. colonies should agree to unite in one government.

The address in answer to the speech from the throne had been agreed to by the attorney-general and the governor before the meeting of the house. It was non-committal but not unfriendly:

The opinion expressed by Her Majesty's government will command that respect and attention which is due to suggestions emanating

³⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1866.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, March 5, 1866.

from so high a source; but in any scheme for a union of the British North American Colonies which may be proposed, it is, in the opinion of this house, absolutely essential that full protection should be afforded to the rights and interests of the people of this Province; and no measure which fails to obtain these objects should be adopted.

In spite of the reservations, the governor and the public naturally expected the government to bring forward such a plan of union as would safeguard the interests of the province.

If the government was willing to take up the question of union, Gordon had hopes that an arrangement might be made with the opposition whereby the question might be taken out of the arena of party politics.⁴¹ Smith, however, had no desire to enter into any agreement with his opponents. They, on their part, were equally anxious to miss no opportunity for attacking the party in office. The attack began at once. When the address in answer to the speech from the throne was debated, Charles Fisher moved an amendment, which was a motion of lack of confidence. The debate continued for almost a month with no apparent progress. The governor might well become impatient. He had assured the colonial secretary of the absolute certainty of the union measure passing in the Assembly, but that result seemed as far away as ever. He urged Smith to disclose his policy, but this the latter refused to do until the want of confidence resolution was disposed of. He did not desire even to appear to yield to the opposition.⁴² The governor suspected that his council were deliberately prolonging the debate, and had no intention of bringing forward any measure for union.⁴³ If such was the case, he was determined to change his advisers. He had accepted Wilmot's resignation, so no longer had that excuse. He had also missed an opportunity when he agreed to modify the first draft of his speech from the throne.

There was still one opportunity, as Gordon wrote to the colonial secretary,

of rendering it impossible for my government to avoid the alternative of either pledging themselves openly to an union policy, or of declaring the existence of so irreconcilable a difference of opinion between us as must necessarily lead to their resignation.⁴⁴

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1866.

⁴²*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, March 25, 1866.

⁴³*Ibid.*, April 23, 1866.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

The opportunity offered was when the Legislative Council came to present their address in answer to the speech from the throne. The majority in the council were in favour of union, and their address highly commended that measure. It was the usual custom for the governor to receive the addresses from the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council at the same time, but Gordon decided to make an exception in the present case.

He set the time for receiving the address at three o'clock on Saturday, April 7, and, without consulting his advisers, prepared the answer he intended to give. Shortly after twelve o'clock on that day, he sent a note to Smith asking him to come to Government House. Smith did not receive the note until a few minutes to three. When he arrived at Government House, the Legislative Council were already there, and they were kept waiting while the consultation took place between the lieutenant-governor and his chief minister.⁴⁶ Smith protested emphatically against the conduct of the Legislative Council in asking the Imperial government to legislate contrary to the wish of the province as expressed at the recent election, and contrary to the wish of the Legislative Assembly. He protested, also, against the answer the governor had prepared and intended to give to the Legislative Council. The governor's advisers were responsible for all such official pronouncements. In the present case they had not even been consulted. The governor then suggested that Smith go down to the house and consult his colleagues, or that a carriage be sent to bring them to Government House. Smith said that they could not leave the house as the no confidence debate was in progress, and, in any case, it was a question that could not be settled in a few minutes. If the governor must receive the address that afternoon, Smith wished him to do no more than to acknowledge it.⁴⁶ He particularly objected to the concluding sentence in the governor's proposed speech:

I rejoice to believe that the avowal of your desire that all British North America should unite in one community under one strong and efficient government, cannot but tend to hasten the accomplishment of this great measure.

In spite of Smith's protest the governor decided to give his answer as he had prepared it. Three days later on April 10, without any further correspondence with the governor, the council

⁴⁶*Macdonald Papers*, Tilley to Macdonald, April 14, 1866.

⁴⁶*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell (Confidential), April 23, 1866.

sent in their resignation.⁴⁷ They were unwilling to accept responsibility for the answer Gordon had given to the Legislative Council:

Your Excellency had assumed to yourself the right to act and did act, in a matter deeply affecting the interest of the people of this province, without consulting your constitutional advisers, and in direct opposition to their views, thereby violating the constitution, and ignoring the principles of Responsible Government.

They also accused the governor of having consulted and advised with gentlemen of the opposition and made known to them matters which they think should be regarded as confidential.

The resignation of his advisers led to an acrimonious exchange of memoranda between the governor on the one hand, and the council and Mr. Smith on the other. The governor might protest that the Legislative Council had a right to adopt such an address as they had presented, and that there was no impropriety on his part in "expressing on Her Majesty's behalf satisfaction at the adhesion of one branch of the Provincial Legislature to a policy so emphatically recommended by Her Majesty's Government." It was difficult, however, for the governor to defend his conduct towards his Executive Council. He protested that it was an accident that prevented the council from having had an opportunity to consider his reply, but it was an accident for which his former advisers could see no adequate excuse. Even Tilley felt that the governor had been too hasty.⁴⁸

When his council resigned, Gordon turned to Wilmot and Peter Mitchell, who had been prepared to form a government two months before. The late government were unwilling to agree to an adjournment while the new members were elected, so the governor prorogued the house.⁴⁹ Later it was decided, in spite of a telegram from John A. Macdonald against such a course,⁵⁰ to dissolve the house and once again to ask the people of New Brunswick to pass on the great question of Confederation. If it were again defeated, even Gordon recognized that nothing could be done. The governor-general, Lord Monck, was indeed willing to consider the possibility of bringing New Brunswick into the union even against the wishes of the people. Why should the Imperial parliament, he wrote to Macdonald, "allow a majority

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Macdonald Papers*, VI, 227, Tilley to Macdonald, April 14, 1866.

⁴⁹*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell, April 16, 1866.

⁵⁰*Macdonald Papers*, VI, 273, Tilley to Macdonald, April 21, 1866.

in one branch of the Legislature in a small province to overbear the expressed opinion of the rest of B. N. A.?"⁵¹

The election turned out a triumph for the friends of confederation. In 1865 the vote had been 27 to 14 against confederation. In 1866 the vote was 33 to 8 in its favour. Gordon exulted in the fact that only two of his ex-ministers had been returned, while, of twenty-two members of the former Assembly who had signed an address protesting against his conduct, only six had seats in the new house.⁵² The triumph of confederation was complete. The passing of resolutions in the new house, and the sending of delegates to England to confer with delegates from Canada and Nova Scotia on the bill to be laid before the Imperial parliament, followed as a matter of course.

Before closing, something must be said regarding the various factors that led to the triumph of the confederate cause in the election of 1866, and that in spite of the fact that the governor's action had enabled his ex-ministers to appeal to the electors as defenders of the great principle of responsible government.

One cause was the decline in popularity of the Smith administration. The election of Fisher in York in 1865 was, apparently, only an indication of a fairly general feeling. So convinced was Gordon of the government's growing unpopularity that, if time had allowed, he said he was willing to trust to the defeat of the government in the session of 1866.⁵³ The letters of Fisher and Tilley to the Canadian ministers bear out this judgment of the lieutenant-governor. This unpopularity was not wholly to the government's discredit. Much of it was due, Gordon admitted to the colonial secretary, to the fact that they had refused to act "with the injustice and partiality required by their supporters."⁵⁴

Then, again, the supporters of confederation appealed to the electors in favour of a policy strongly endorsed by the Imperial government. In 1865, the electors might think that the Quebec scheme was a trap laid for them by the Canadians. In 1866, it became almost a patriotic duty to vote for a measure so emphatically recommended by Her Majesty's ministers. The province founded by the Loyalists could not be lacking in loyalty. Moreover, the Smith government was fatally weakened in its opposition to confederation in the election of 1866 because it did not appeal to

⁵¹*Ibid.*, VI, 242, Monck to Macdonald, April 17, 1866.

⁵²*N. B. Despatches*, Gordon to Cardwell (Confidential), June 19, 1866.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Gordon to Cardwell, Feb. 12, 1866.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1865.

the electors with an unblemished record.⁵⁴ It might denounce the Quebec resolutions as much as it liked, but the public knew that the government itself had professed its willingness to sponsor some form of union of its own. The speech from the throne could not be forgotten. If Gordon had failed in his plan of passing union as a non-partisan measure, he had at least succeeded in discrediting the anti-union party.

The supporters of confederation were, also, fortunate in the events of the spring of 1866. It was the time of the threatening Fenian invasion of the province. The whole population was deeply concerned. Frontier towns like St. Andrews and St. Stephen were threatened with destruction. The militia was called out and regular troops sent from Halifax. No event could have more dramatically brought to the attention of the province its present weakness, or proved more conclusively the arguments of the colonial secretary, that the confederation of the British North American provinces was needed for their protection. Excited anti-confederates even accused the Canadians of sending the Fenians in order to further their own nefarious schemes.⁵⁵

Elections are not won by prayers. Campaign contributions were needed, and the leaders of the confederate party in New Brunswick turned to Canada. The Canadian government could not see the cause fail from lack of funds. On April 14, four days after the resignation of the Smith government, Tilley wrote to Macdonald, "We must have the arrangement carried out and without delay that was talked of when I met you at Quebec. Telegraph me in cypher saying what we can rely upon." Three days later Tilley wrote again in the same strain. The constitutional issue makes the election uncertain. "Assistance must be had of a substantial character." He thinks some forty or fifty thousand dollars will be required for the election.⁵⁶ Gordon wrote to Lord Monck that as much help as possible ought to be sent as it might be needed.⁵⁷ On April 20, Tilley wrote to Macdonald again with still greater frankness:

I think we can, with good management and with means, carry a majority in the province, outside of St. John, in favour of resolutions such as were passed in N. S., but St. John is a very important constituency and ought to be carried if possible,—and to be frank with you the election in this province can be made certain if the *means* are

⁵⁴*Macdonald Papers*, Tilley to Macdonald, April 21, 1866.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Tilley to Macdonald, April 17, 1866.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, Monck to Macdonald, April 18, 1866.

used. It will remain for the friends in Canada to say how the arrangements are to be made. It must be done with great caution and in such a way as not to awaken suspicion.⁸⁸

Tilley suggested that a leading citizen of St. John, a large ship owner worth at least £100,000, might go to Portland, and there meet Mr. Brydges or anyone else without arousing suspicion.⁸⁹ Mr. Brydges was manager of the Grand Trunk Railway.

One cause that must not be overlooked in accounting for the victory of confederation in 1866 was the educational work of Tilley himself. He might not be the head of the government, but he was its real leader. No one could compare with Tilley in the work that he had done on behalf of union. He had spent the past year very largely in a campaign, the purpose of which was to remove the prejudices and misconceptions which he was convinced explained the defeat of 1865. The victory of 1866 was a personal triumph as well as the triumph of the cause he had so much at heart.

GEORGE E. WILSON

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, Tilley to Macdonald, April 20, 1866.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

THE EXPLORER OF FINLAY RIVER IN 1824

IN a number of books dealing with the history of the North West there are references to an exploration, made in the year 1824, along the Finlay branch of Peace river. That branch is the northern one of the two branches which together form the head-waters, for Peace river, like South Saskatchewan river, loses its name before we reach its source. Extracts from a manuscript journal which recounts the exploration are given by Dr. Bryce in his *History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (3rd ed., pp. 293-296). He states that the manuscript was before him, and he quotes the title: *A Voyage of Discovery from the Rocky Mountain Portage to the Source of Finlay's Branch, and North Westward. Summer 1824*. Dr. Bryce adds that the manuscript is certified by Chief Factor James McDougall (who was living at the time Dr. Bryce wrote), to be the journal of John Finlay. Mr. J. B. Tyrrell also made extracts from the same manuscript—it has never been suggested that there was more than one copy—when Mr. McDougall showed it to him at Cumberland House in 1894. He quotes the same title, but with the addition at the end: *By John Finlay (H.B.Co.)*. These extracts by Mr. Tyrrell can be found in *Head-Waters of Peace River* by P. L. Haworth, who, both in that book and in his later book, *Trail-Makers of the North West*, states that the exploration was made by John Finlay. Mr. Burpee goes somewhat further than the others, and tells us in his *Search for the Western Sea* that the John Finlay who made the exploration in 1824 was an officer of the Hudson's Bay Co., and was the same Finlay who built a new post on Peace river in 1792 for Alexander Mackenzie.

None of these writers seems to have stopped to consider whence came this John Finlay, and whither did he go when his exploration was ended. Mr. Burpee's identity with Mackenzie's trader ignores the difficulty that a man old enough to have charge of a post in 1792 would hardly have been selected thirty-two years later for charge of a strenuous exploration. There was, of course, an exploration of this river by a man named Finlay in 1797, but the reference is to an exploration in 1824, when a new generation had

grown up. It will be noted that Mr. Tyrrell's version of the title seems to imply that the words "by John Finlay (H.B.Co.)" were a part of the title. If so, why did Dr. Bryce trouble to say that McDougall certified that it was Finlay's journal? Further, in Mr. Tyrrell's extracts we read, under May 13, "the party consisted of Messrs. Finlay, McDonald Manson, six canoe-men," (etc.), while Dr. Bryce's version, from the journal itself, reads, "The expedition people are as follows:—six canoe men, M. McDonald, Manson, and *myself*" (etc.). These two examples seem to indicate that the statements that Finlay was the explorer were gradually evolved by a kind of auto-suggestion. When the statements are examined we can find no basis for any of them except McDougall's statement. No writer seems to have made research for himself. If he had, he must soon have concluded that "John Finlay, explorer in 1824," never existed. The modesty of many of the earlier, and of a few of the modern, explorers is well known, but that one should come from nowhere, make an exploration, and disappear, would be a record even for them. No one of sufficient standing to be entrusted by the Hudson's Bay Company with charge of an exploration in 1824 could have existed without our knowing something of his previous and subsequent career. No officer named Finlay ever existed in the western field of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it is certainly very strange that such a simple fact should have been ignored.

While a realization that the explorer could not have been named Finlay does not supply his real name, it is almost a necessary preliminary to ascertaining the real name. For unless we cultivate a certain amount of independent thought, our minds will not be open to see those small indications which often are the only hint that others have made a mistake in their views. In this particular matter, the writer not long ago had an opportunity to examine some accounts of Fort Chipewyan. Among many other entries was an item which, from its want of any prominence, might readily have been passed over as of no consequence. In the middle of a kind of pay list for the whole district the words "R. M. Expedtn." are set opposite the names of certain persons in the year 1824. The suspicion that this item meant Rocky Mountain Expedition, and that it referred to the long mis-named Finlay exploration, was followed by a comparison of the names with the names given by Dr. Bryce. The surprising result was that every name agreed, except that there was no John Finlay, his place being taken by "Samuel Black, C. Trader," and Bryce's seeming two

persons, M. McDonald and Manson, became Mr. Donald Manson, and Olsen became Ossin, the last evidently caused by misunderstanding the old way of writing the letter "S". Further, Mr. Tyrrell's extracts, under May 28, say that two men deserted. On this pay list there is written in the margin, in very small writing, opposite the names of J. M. Boucher and Ossin:

Deserted from Mr. Black in early summer, reached Isle à la Crosse 23rd & deld. themselves up 25th July—sent to Westn. Caledonia in the Fall—2/3 of their wages chargeable therein, in the event of W. Caledonia taking them out.

Reference to this desertion can also be seen in the valuable copy of the Minutes for 1825, published in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for December, 1926. Paragraph 136 there records: "Jean Marie Boucher and Louis Ossin handcuffed etc. etc." As we have only a summary of the Minutes we cannot tell what "etc." means. But it will appear later that Boucher, at least, had his home at Ile à la Crosse, so that probably they were sentenced to what in those days was the equivalent of transportation, that is, they were sent to New Caledonia.

The only modern writer who seems to have known the correct name of the explorer is the much maligned Bancroft, and he, as though fearful of impairing his reputation for no great accuracy, gives a wrong date. His remark is in a footnote where he is referring, not to Black or even Finlay river, but to a mere incident in the life of Manson. "Manson," he writes in his *History of the North West Coast* (II, 625), "spent several years on the Saskatchewan; in 1827 was with Chief Factor Black exploring Finlay River; after which he spent some time on the Columbia." Among the older writers we have a letter, quoted by Masson,¹ which was written in March, 1824, by Wentzel, who at the time was stationed on Mackenzie river. Wentzel states that the exploration is to be in charge of Black, but so many modern writers have repeated the idea that Finlay was in charge that people have been diverted from the plain meaning of Wentzel's words. He wrote:

Many plans are suggested for exploring the unknown parts of Mackenzie's river, and none have been digested excepting that Mr. Black is to start this spring from the upper parts of Peace river with a clerk and eight men, and proceed up Finlay's Branch . . . This plan appears to me to be wild and injudicious, because Mr.

¹L. R. Masson, ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889-90), I, 151.

Black is unable to ascertain by observation in what latitude or longitude he may find himself . . . I think he should have taken his route down Mackenzie's river.

Wentzel means that Black's appointment has been decided, but that he regards both the selection made and the programme as wild and injudicious. He uses the past tense, indicating that the matter is settled. As there are certain stores charged against the expedition in the Chipewyan accounts in January of that year, it is probable that Wentzel obtained his information from some one who had been at Chipewyan and had seen the preparations made. At this date it seems that Fort Chipewyan was the residence of a chief trader, the only chief factor in the region being William McKintosh, who was at Dunvegan. The chief trader at Chipewyan was Peter Warren Dease, later chief organiser of the Franklin Expedition so far as supplies were concerned, and one of the very few Irishmen who attained the rank of chief factor.

As Samuel Black is now to be included among the explorers, even though in a small way, his stormy career takes on new interest. The earlier years of his service were the strenuous years of contest between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, and possibly also between both and the XY Co., for he may have joined before the last went out of existence. Black was an outstanding champion of the North West Company, conspicuously lawless even among those who recognized no law in the fur-trade. He was born, probably, between 1785 and 1790, for it would not be easy to account for the dates of his career if his birth is placed outside those limits. The evidence is that he was a Scotchman, but no definite statement to that effect appears on the record. His name is first seen in the list of North West Company employees given in the Minutes of that Company for 1806. There he is listed as clerk in the Athabaska department. His name is not found in Masson's earlier list of 1804, but this may be due to certain districts being omitted from that list. He was at Ile à la Crosse in 1814, and took a prominent part in the affray between the two companies which resulted in the loss of a life on each side. Howse, then in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post, was no match for such wild spirits as Black and Peter Skene Ogden, especially as he had much fewer men under his command.

Black spent several years at Ile à la Crosse, and although very few are aware of the fact, there is in that locality a memorial to his former greatness in the district. The trading posts at present stand at the southerly end of a long tongue of land which runs

down almost to the south end of Lake Ile à la Crosse. The observations, maps and descriptions of all travellers would indicate that the former posts were all about in this position, but some eight years ago Mr. G. H. Blanchet, F.R.G.S., made an investigation of the remains of an extensive establishment on the south shore of the lake, no one outside the locality having previously known that such remains existed. The site is about opposite (south of) the present post, and about three miles west of the mouth of Beaver river. The writer has had difficulty in reconciling such a site with the records, but the ruins are there. Mr. Blanchet traced the remains of eight buildings and of a palisade, and he learnt that there was a definite local tradition among the Indians that these ruins were the site of a long forgotten post named Fort Black. Trees fourteen inches in diameter were growing up where the old chimneys stood, and the whole site was thickly overgrown with leaf mould a foot deep in the bottom of what must have been the powder magazine. He states that an Indian, at least eighty years old, told him that the fort was occupied when his mother was a young girl. This would agree with a fort built when Samuel Black was at Ile à la Crosse.

The Hudson's Bay Company post was seized by Black in February, 1817, and all the men imprisoned. In March he went, with his subordinate, Ogden, to Green lake, about ninety miles to the south, rushed the Hudson's Bay Company post, plundered the furs, and brought the men prisoners to Ile à la Crosse. All these things were done with particular regard for the form of the law. The principal officer of the North West Company at Ile à la Crosse at the time was John Thomson, who was also a justice of the peace. He made out warrants, Black swore in J. M. Boucher, who later deserted him on his exploration, as constable, and then, when any opposition was made, he was careful to point out that he was acting under the orders of a justice and with a duly appointed constable. In June, Ross Cox arrived from the Columbia, and tells how he found matters, Black himself being absent on his annual journey to Fort William. It is a question, however, if he ever got there, as he was seen hurrying back west with the idea of putting much space between himself and Commissioner Coltman, who had just reached Lake Winnipeg, on his mission to investigate the disorders, and Black said he was ready, if hard pressed, to escape across the Rocky Mountains.

In 1818, he was stationed at Fort Chipewyan, and in October he arrested Colin Robertson who had re-established the Hudson's

Bay Company post on Lake Athabaska, kept him prisoner for eight months, and then sent him to Montreal. Matters reached such a stage that a constable with a warrant for Black's arrest was sent from Montreal to Fort Chipewyan, but he might as well have remained at home. On his attempting to arrest Black at Chipewyan in May, 1820, that self-constituted authority drew his pistol and effectually put an end to any idea that he intended to go east. The constable had to be content with some lesser prisoners, and long before he reached Fort William he was himself arrested, his prisoners set free, and he was escorted out of the country by Black's friends. No wonder Franklin, who was at Chipewyan in the same year, could get little help from either of the companies.

At the union, in the next year, Black did not receive any commission, but later in that year he was made chief trader. In 1823 he was in charge of the St. John district when Guy Hughes and four men were murdered at that post. Fort St. John was immediately abandoned, which would leave Black free, and this may account for his being selected to explore the Finlay river. There is no information as to who gave Black his instructions. As already mentioned, McKintosh was of higher rank at Dunvegan, and Dease was of the same rank at Fort Chipewyan. The instructions may have come directly from Governor Simpson. In the next year, 1825, Dease had gone off north with Franklin, and James Keith, chief factor, took up his residence at Fort Chipewyan, where he had been before the union as partner of the North West Company. Whether Black had done any previous exploration is not known. The name Black river given to the river which flows from Wollaston lake to the east end of Lake Athabaska, on which lake Black was an important officer for several years, may refer to him, and this naming might indicate that he had explored along it. Thompson called the river by this name when recounting his own explorations of 1796, but that account was written years later, and the river may have got the name in the intervening period.

As this article does not pretend to discuss the exploration of Finlay river, but only the explorer, no attempt will be made to investigate his results. After the exploration, Black crossed the Rocky Mountains, and had charge of Fort Nez Percé (Walla Walla) on Columbia river until 1835. He was then transferred to the charge of Kamloops, and was promoted to chief factor in 1838. He did not long hold his new rank, for his tragic end, by the hand of a young Indian, occurred in 1841. That was at the old fort on the east side of North Thompson river. Tod, who was sent to

Kamloops to avenge Black's murder, abandoned that site, and built a new post on the west side and about half a mile north of the junction with the main Thompson river.

In considering Black's career we must not think he made his way by mere roughness. Almost all of the outstanding men of the North West Company were well-educated men from families of good standing. Such of their writings as have come down to us show that they were much above the average class of men engaged in trade. Mackenzie comments on the great respect which the voyageurs had for them, a respect which, he says, was founded on good opinion. But when Black joined, probably a mere youth, he found himself in the midst of a savage rivalry with no restraining influence. Everything in his surroundings encouraged a man in a leading position to be a law unto himself. Later in his career, when Black was under the more regular system brought about by the union, we have but little fault to find.

In the *Beaver* magazine for May, 1922, the Rev. R. G. MacBeth of Vancouver says that, in his boyhood days at Red river, he knew a son of Samuel Black who was a teacher and later a member of the Manitoba legislature. This was Alexander Kamloops Black, member for St. Paul from 1876 to 1878. Mr. MacBeth comments on his massive build and strong mental power, from which we may gather that the chief factor was of the same great stature as were so many of the old Nor'Westers.

J. N. WALLACE

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

THE REVIEW presents herewith the second annual list of graduate theses which deal with Canadian history, political science, and economics, and which have been recently completed or are in the course of preparation. In preparing the list we were dependent for the most part on the replies received from a large number of letters sent to the universities in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. The response was very gratifying, and the REVIEW wishes to thank those who assisted by furnishing information. It is a matter of interest that the list is almost as large as that of last year, which included a number of theses completed during the previous three or four years. We would be glad to receive advice regarding any omissions which may have occurred due to a failure to receive the information requested. No reference has been made to the publication of Ph.D. theses, as these are almost invariably printed in whole or in part. Where advice was received that M.A. theses are to be published, that fact has been noted.

GEORGE W. BROWN

LIST OF THESES FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

- W. E. Armstrong, B.A. Queen's 1914, A.M. Chicago 1923. Canadian relations with the United States, 1776-1815. *Chicago*.
- S. E. Beckett, B.A. Queen's 1903, M.A. 1905. The revenue system of the Dominion of Canada. *Chicago*.
- A. Boileau. Le contrat collectif. *Université de Montréal*.
- J. B. Brebner, New England's outpost: Acadia. (Published; Columbia University, 1927).
- Margaret L. Brown, A.B. New York 1922, A.M. 1923. The fisheries controversy with Great Britain. *New York*.
- A. Cairns, B.A. Alberta 1923, M.S. Minnesota 1927. A comparative study of grain marketing in the United States and Canada. *Minnesota*.
- C. E. Cayley, B.A. Manitoba 1922, A.M. Chicago 1925. The treaty relations of the United States and Canada since 1867. *Chicago*.
- J. E. Conn, A.B. Findlay 1910, A.M. Columbia 1911. Canadian immigration to the United States. *Columbia*.

- Helen I. Cowan, B.A. Toronto 1914, A.M. Columbia 1920. British emigration to British North America, 1783-1837. *Columbia*. (Published; University of Toronto Studies, History and Economic series, Vol. IV, No. 2.)
- L. B. Currie, B.Sc. (Econ.) London 1925. Money and banking in Canada, 1914-26. *Harvard*.
- C. A. Curtis, Ph.D. Chicago 1926. The Canadian banking system, 1910-25. *Chicago*.
- G. H. Cutler, B.S. Ontario Agricultural College, 1909. Canada's foreign trade in agricultural products. *Wisconsin*.
- J. F. Day, B.A. Toronto 1923, A.M. Chicago 1926. The financial history of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission. *Chicago*.
- A. G. Dewey, B.A. McGill 1911, M.A. 1913. The Dominions and conduct of Imperial foreign relations. *Columbia*.
- A. G. Dorland, A history of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. (Published; Toronto, Macmillan, 1927.)
- H. E. Dougall, B.S. Toronto 1925, M.B.S. Northwestern, 1926. Canadian railway finance, 1929. *Northwestern*.
- Alison A. Ewart, B.A. Toronto 1922, M.A. 1925. The development of cultural interests in Upper Canada. *Toronto*.
- V. J. Farrar, A.B. Wisconsin 1911, A.M. 1912, Ph.D. 1927. The purchase of Alaska. *Wisconsin*.
- Mary E. Fittro, A.B. Salem 1923, A.M. Johns Hopkins 1926. Proposals for the annexation of Canada to the United States. *Johns Hopkins*.
- C. K. Ganong, B.A. Acadia 1923, M.A. Toronto 1924. Economic history of Acadia. *Wisconsin*.
- R. W. Garrett, A.B. Milligan 1918, A.M. Columbia 1921. Sir Francis Nicholson as colonial governor. *Columbia*.
- H. Golden, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1924, A.M. Harvard 1926. Western Canadian immigration: the operation of laws of naturalization and "Canadianization". *Harvard*.
- H. F. Greenway, B.A. Toronto 1924, M.A. Manitoba 1927. Municipal taxation in Canada. *Toronto*.
- Phyllis Gregory, B.A. British Columbia 1925. History of certain communal settlements (religious and otherwise) in Western Canada. *Bryn Mawr*.
- T. W. Grindley, B.A. Alberta 1923, B.S. 1925, M.A. Minnesota 1927. The effects of single-crop agriculture in western Canada. *Minnesota*.
- F. H. Hitchins, B.A. Western Ontario 1923, M.A. 1924. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1840-1878. *Pennsylvania*.
- J. Holladay, B.S. Georgetown 1915, M.S. Illinois 1923. History of banking in Canada, 1907-27. *Iowa*.
- V. K. Johnston, B.A. Queen's 1919, M.A. 1924, Ph.D. Chicago 1927. The international status of the British dominions. *Chicago*.
- C. H. Judah, A.B. Illinois 1925, A.M. 1926. British policy toward North American fisheries. *Illinois*.
- H. R. Kemp, B.A. Toronto 1915, M.A. 1919. Taxation in Canada. *Toronto*.
- F. A. Knox, B.A. Queen's 1923. The Canadian trade balance, 1914-1926. *Chicago*.
- Winifred Kydd, B.A. McGill 1923, M.A. 1924. History of public opinion in Canada concerning immigration. *Bryn Mawr*.
- J. E. Lattimer, B.S. Toronto 1914. Land tenure in Canada. *Wisconsin*.
- L. B. K. Lesley, A.B. Stanford 1920, A.M. California 1923. The fur-trade and the Northwest boundary. *California*.

- W. R. Livingston, B.A. Knox 1919, M.A. Missouri 1920, Ph.D. Wisconsin 1927. The evolution of responsible government in Nova Scotia. *Wisconsin*.
- R. G. Lounsbury, Ph.B. Yale 1918. The trade and fishery of Newfoundland, 1660-1763. *Yale*.
- A. R. M. Lower, B.A. Toronto 1914, M.A. 1923, A.M. Harvard 1926. The Canadian timber trade: a study in the last phases of the old colonial system. *Harvard*.
- R. O. MacFarlane, B.A. Queen's 1924, M.A. 1925. British Indian policy in Canada, 1759-1812. *Harvard*.
- Marguerite M. McKee, A.B. Smith 1920, A.M. 1922. Supplies of the American army in the war of 1812. *Columbia*.
- E. Mahan, A.B. Indiana 1924, A.M. 1927. The Canadian problem under Governor Robert Hunter. *Indiana*.
- W. R. Maxwell, B.A. Dalhousie 1920, A. M. Harvard 1921. The land policy of the Canadian federal government. *Harvard*.
- R. W. Murchie, M.A. Glasgow 1924. The unused land of Manitoba: a survey of the physical, economic, and social factors of land settlement. *Minnesota*.
- Jean E. Murray, B.A. Saskatchewan 1922, M.A. 1923, M.A. Toronto 1924. The relation of the fur-trade in New Netherland and New York to that of New France, to 1713. *Chicago*.
- F. Painter, B.A. British Columbia 1925. The Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific slope, 1824-1846. *California*.
- S. M. Pargellis, A.B. Nevada 1918, B.A. Oxford 1922. British Army in America in the Seven Years' War. *Yale*.
- A. Perrière. L'organisation ouvrière au Canada. *Université de Montréal*.
- Margaret J. Phelan, B.A. Toronto 1926, M.A. 1927. Canadian Reform Party, 1840-1850. *Wisconsin*.
- J. P. Pritchett, A.B. Stanford 1921, M.A. Toronto 1922. The history of the settlement of the Red River district. *Queen's*.
- F. L. Sawyer, A.B. Clark 1913, A.M. Michigan 1925. The Great Lakes as a factor in immigration and settlement. *Michigan*.
- S. M. Scott, B.A. British Columbia 1921, M.A. Toronto 1922. The administration of the government of Canada, 1763-1774. *Michigan*.
- Helen L. Shaw, Ph.B. Chicago 1920. The administration of Indian affairs in the Southern Department, 1756-1783. *Bryn Mawr*.
- L. Shere, M.A. Manitoba 1922. Credit control in Canada. *Columbia*.
- J. P. Smith, S.B. Chicago 1924. The movement for the annexation of Canada, 1865-1872. *Chicago*.
- F. B. Steck. The Jolliet-Marquette expedition, 1673. (Published: Catholic University, 1927.)
- B. M. Stewart, Ph.D. Columbia 1926. Canadian labor laws and the treaty. (Published in Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.)
- Norah C. Story, B.A. Toronto 1926, M.A. Wisconsin 1927. Refugees of the Canadian rebellion of 1837. *Wisconsin*.
- J. J. Talman, B.A. Western Ontario 1925, M.A. 1927. Social conditions in Upper Canada, 1815-1837. *Toronto*.
- R. Taaghe. L'établissement urbain considéré du point de vue anthropogéographique, étude critique de l'agglomération de Montréal. *Université de Montréal*.
- H. M. Thomas, B.A. Queen's, M.A. Harvard. The Intendancy in New France. *Harvard*.

- L. A. Tohill. Robert Dickson, a British fur-trader of the Northwest. (Published; privately printed, 1927.)
- G. N. Tucker, B.A. Western Ontario 1921, M.A. 1922. Land policies of the British Dominions. *Wisconsin*.
- L. Van Aken. L'union économique belgo-luxembourgeoise et le Canada. *Université de Montréal*.
- W. M. Whitelaw, B.A. Toronto 1910, B.D. Union Theological Seminary 1914, A.M. Columbia 1920. The Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences of 1864. *Columbia*.

LIST OF THESES FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

- Dorothy May Allen, A.B. California 1927. The constitutional struggle in Canada, 1815-1837. *California*.
- R. H. Allen, B.A. Western Ontario 1927. The nationalist movement in Quebec. *Western Ontario*.
- Angantyr Arnason, B.A. Manitoba 1926. Icelandic settlement in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- Margaret J. Bell, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1925. History of Portage la Prairie. *Manitoba*.
- A. W. Boos, B.A. McGill. Financial relations between the provinces and the Dominion. *McGill*.
- C. S. Buck, B.A. Western Ontario 1926. Early architecture in Ontario prior to 1860. *Western Ontario*.
- G. Buxton, B.A. Manitoba 1926, M.A. 1927. Canadian responsible government in British Hansard. *Manitoba*.
- B. A. Cameron, B.A. Queen's. The problems of Lord Elgin's administration. *Saskatchewan*.
- Thelma L. Coleman, B.A. Manitoba 1926. Ukrainian settlement in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- Isabel F. Craig, B.A. McGill 1927. The formulation of the text of the B.N.A. Act, 1864-1867. *McGill*.
- J. T. Culliton, B.A. Saskatchewan, M.A. McGill. Assisted emigration and land settlement with special reference to Western Canada. *McGill*. Published.
- V. L. Denton, B.A. Acadia 1903. Geographical influences in Canadian history. *British Columbia*.
- R. H. Fleming, B. Com. Toronto 1925. Fur trade in Canada, 1794-1804. *Toronto*.
- J. A. Gibbard, B.A. British Columbia 1924. Settlement in the eastern end of Fraser Valley. *British Columbia*.
- Amber L. Glenn, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1927. A history of the University of Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- J. F. Goforth, B.A. Toronto 1927. Economic factors in the evolution of the Canadian constitution. *McGill*.
- H. Golden, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1924. The French in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- Margaret Gordon, B.A. Manitoba 1924, M.A. British Columbia 1927. The development of Canada's autonomy in colonial affairs. *British Columbia*.
- T. M. Gordon, B.A. McGill. The Canadian sales tax. *McGill*.
- A. H. G. Grosart, B.A. Toronto 1927. The international law of the Chicago Water Diversion. *Toronto*.
- A. R. Harkness, B. Comm. McGill. Public policy and the world of letters. *McGill*.
- T. H. Harris, B.A. McGill. Economic aspects of the Crow's Nest Pass Rates Agreement. *McGill*.

- S. Hayes, B.A. McGill. Good times and hard times in Canada. *McGill*.
- C. H. Herbert, B. Comm. McGill. The course of exchange between Canada and the United States. *McGill*.
- Margaret Hilliker, B.S. Missouri 1926. The Alaska Boundary dispute. *Washington University*.
- P. V. Ibbetson, B.A. Manitoba 1919, LL.B. 1923, M.A. 1925. Decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council relating to education in Canada. *Manitoba*.
- F. Kelland, B. Comm. McGill. Economic observations of the rate of interest in relation to the risk of security. *McGill*.
- Helen J. Kintzinger, B.S. Columbia 1924, A.M. Iowa 1927. American influences in Canadian federalism. *Iowa*.
- Mary McG. Lee, B.A. Saskatchewan. Canada's view of Rupertsland and the Northwest, 1850-1870. *Saskatchewan*.
- J. W. Little, B. Comm. McGill. Relation between wholesale and retail credits in Canada. *McGill*.
- Margaret E. McBeth, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1925. John Norquay. *Manitoba*.
- J. R. McLean, B.A. Manitoba 1926, M.A. 1927. Canadian responsible government in British Hansard. *Manitoba*.
- Maysie S. MacSporran, B.A. McGill 1927. The life and times of James McGill. *McGill*.
- W. Martin, B.A. Manitoba 1923. Forts and trading-posts of Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- H. G. Mingay, B.A. Manitoba 1925. Education in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- Hilda Neatby, B.A. Saskatchewan. The development of imperial sentiment in Canada, 1867-1896. *Saskatchewan*. Completed.
- J. S. B. Pemberton, B.A. McGill. Municipal bonds in Canada. *McGill*.
- Margaret J. Phelan, B.A. Toronto 1926, M.A. 1927. Calendar of the correspondence of Robert Baldwin. *Toronto*.
- J. W. Pickersgill, B.A. Manitoba 1926, M.A. 1927. Canadian responsible government in British Hansard. *Manitoba*.
- J. R. A. Pollard, B.A. Saskatchewan 1927. Luther Hamilton Holton, 1817-1880. *Toronto*.
- J. S. Prentice, B.A. Queen's 1920, M.A. 1927. Canadian war finance. *Queen's*.
- C. W. Riley, B.S.A. Toronto 1921. Labour and industrial requirements in the cost of production of Canadian farm products. *Toronto*.
- Irma Riley, A.B. California 1916. Colonization of the Prairie Provinces of Canada. *California*.
- J. M. Roxburgh, B.A. Manitoba 1921, M.A. 1925. The development of self-government in the Territories. *Manitoba*.
- M. L. Savage, B.A. McGill. Banking and bank credit in Canada from Confederation to the present day. *McGill*.
- B. S. Scott, B.A. Western Ontario 1926. Industrial history of London since 1850. *Western Ontario*.
- B. P. Skey, A. E. Prague 1925. Agricultural co-operation in Eastern Canada. *Toronto*.
- Lila Staples, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1927. Alexander Morris. *Manitoba*.
- R. C. Steinmetz, A.B. Muhlenberg 1927. The Indian policy of Richard Cooke, Earl of Bellomont. *Indiana*.
- Jean C. Stewart, B.A. Toronto 1926. A study of Simcoe's administration in Upper Canada. *Toronto*.
- J. J. Talman, B.A. Western Ontario 1925, M.A. 1927. The position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1840. *Western Ontario*.

- J. M. Thomas, B.A. Manitoba 1925, M.A. 1926. State provision for education in rural Saskatchewan. *Manitoba*.
- Sylvia Thrupp, B.A. British Columbia 1925. Settlement in East Kootenay. *British Columbia*.
- Lillie A. Traver, B.A. Queen's 1914. Early negotiations for the taking over of the Hudson's Bay Territory by the Canadian government. *McGill*.
- Mildred I. Turnbull, B. Comm. Toronto 1927. Fur trade in Canada, 1774-1787. *Toronto*.
- G. M. Wade, B.A. Manitoba 1925, M.A. 1927. The Hudson Bay Railway. *Manitoba*.
- W. J. Waines, B.A. Manitoba 1924, M.A. 1925. Provincial debt in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- E. M. Wales, A.B. Indiana 1926. The Hudson's Bay Company, 1689-1713. *Indiana*.
- A. Webster, B.A. British Columbia 1922. Canada at the Imperial conferences, 1882-1926. *British Columbia*.
- A. Willows, B.A. Manitoba 1923, M.A. 1924. Mennonite settlement in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.
- E. E. Wilson, B.S. Minnesota 1923. The tariff policy of the Dominion of Canada. *Stanford*.
- Evelyn C. E. Wilson, B.A. McGill 1926. The choice of Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion. *McGill*.
- D. S. Woods, B.A. Manitoba 1924, M.A. 1926. The two races in Manitoba. *Manitoba*.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A PHILADELPHIA LAWYER AND EARLY LOWER CANADA LAW

IN the year 1810, a very able member of the Philadelphia Bar—the acumen of the “Philadelphia lawyer” is proverbial—visited Lower Canada, and wrote an account of what he saw of interest in that province. This was William Rawle, a descendant of Francis Rawle, who went to Philadelphia from Cornwall in 1686. William Rawle was born in Philadelphia in 1759, and studied law in New York from 1778 to 1781, under J. T. Kempe, the last Loyalist attorney-general of that colony: he then proceeded to England and was in August, 1781, admitted a student-at-law in the Middle Temple. Returning to America he was, in 1783, admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia, and founded the Rawle Law Office which has continued to the present day, the head of it now being his descendant, an equally able and distinguished lawyer, Francis Rawle, one of the two surviving founders of the American Bar Association. Before his tour in Canada, William Rawle had been United States district attorney under Washington, and had prosecuted the criminal cases arising in 1794 out of the “Whiskey Rebellion.”

Rawle's account of his tour in 1810—or, at least, of part of it—is contained in a small note book wholly in his clear handwriting, and now the treasured possession of his descendant already named.

He left Schenectady, August 17, 1810, by carriage, proceeded to Buffalo, to Niagara Falls and Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), then by a chartered schooner to Kingston, Upper Canada. From Kingston he went by a river boat propelled by oars to Ogdensburgh, and by another to Montreal; thence by steamboat to Quebec, by “calash” back to Montreal, and by carriage to St. John's.

In this paper, we are concerned only with Rawle's observations on the laws, lawyers, and constitution of Lower Canada: these are worthy of consideration as he was not only a lawyer in active practice and a man of great ability, but also he was a gentleman,

and seemingly without the rancour against "England" and everything "English" which characterized and disfigured too many of his generation.

An appreciative description is given of Montreal, the greater part of whose "inhabitants are French, who are rigid catholics." Of the new Court House, "one of the most conspicuous and the finest edifice in the place," Rawle says:

It is a large structure built of handsome stone. Though in itself there is nothing very superb, yet its modern style is so happy a relief to the gloomy monotony around, that it does not fail to strike the eye in a pleasing manner. A beautiful portico in front deserves, however, for its own sake some attention. This is spacious and lofty & is supported by a number of fine pillars . . .

With regard to the laws of Lower Canada he proceeds:

The laws respecting real property in Lower Canada are far from being uniform. In consequence of the change of masters which the country has experienced, considerable mutations have taken place in the laws generally. The whole of the old criminal code has been rejected in favor of that of England & such alterations have been introduced in the system regulating landed estates as to produce great confusion and a multiplicity of forms in the proceedings of the Courts.

While this was a French province, tenures were strictly feudal. Upon its conquest by the British it was naturally supposed, that so small a population as it then possessed would readily incorporate their manners laws & customs with those of the more populous & more extensive colonies, with which it was in future to be united. It was, therefore, ordered that the same code, criminal and civil should be observed in this that governed his Majesty's other American provinces. But this innovation was not relished by the Canadians. They complained loudly of the overthrow of institutions to which time & prejudice had attached them & and at length induced the British Parliament in the 14th of the King to pass a bill restoring to them their civil code & granting them a constitution of their own. By this bill, called the Quebec Act, it is enacted, that thenceforward all suits that shall be instituted in his Majesty's courts in this province respecting the property of his Canadian subjects, shall be determined according to the ancient laws & customs of Canada. But it was also ordered that all lands taken up under grant from the British crown, should be held in free & common socage, according to the laws of England. Here then are two systems of jurisprudence, existing in full force in the same country; diametrically opposite

in their nature; and in their modes of pursuing the ends of justice altogether different. Hence has arisen much confusion in the courts. Possessing both a civil & common law jurisdiction, they have been obliged to multiply their forms to such a degree as to require much industry & attention, to understand their proceedings. And this confusion is greatly increased by the necessity of conducting almost all suits in two languages. In trials by jury it rarely happens that all the jurors understand the same tongue. It is therefore necessary that the testimony of witnesses should in every instance be translated; for which purpose, I believe, the clerk of the court is sworn. For this reason the gentlemen of the Bar are obliged to make themselves so perfectly acquainted with both french & english, as to be able to address a jury, with equal facility in either language and sometimes in both. It therefore follows that the trial of a cause under these circumstances must occupy double the time it would otherwise require. But notwithstanding this unavoidable delay, I am well assured that they get through much more business here in the same time, than some of our courts which are not clogged with similar encumbrances.

I was struck, too, with the dignity & distance observed by the Bench & the deference & respect which the Judges received from the Bar & all the officers of the court; so different from our own.

Monk is the Chief Justice of the District of Montreal. In his manners he is haughty & imperious. He is said to be pretty well learned in the law; but from his style of expression in the decision of a question, which I heard, I conceived no very favorable opinion of his general education.

This description fairly and intelligently sets out the state of the law. By the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, after Canada had become by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, *de jure* as it had been for some years *de facto*, British, the King said: "All Persons Inhabiting in or resorting to our Said Colonies [including Quebec] may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England—" ¹This proclamation was construed as introducing the laws of England, civil and criminal, into the province on the principles laid down by Lord Mansfield in *Campbell v. Hall*, 1774. (1 Cowper K.B.R. 204 at p. 209): "The laws of a conquered country continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror . . . the King without the con-

¹Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, eds., *Documents relating to the Constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791* (2'd ed., Ottawa, 1918), I, 165.

currence of parliament has a power to alter the old and to introduce new laws . . ."

When a system of courts came to be established in 1764, the ordinance issued at Quebec, September 17, 1764, erected two courts, the one a superior court called the Court of King's Bench "to hear and determine all criminal and civil Causes agreeable to the Laws of *England* and to the Ordinances of this Province", the other an inferior court called the Court of Common Pleas for civil causes above £10. The extraordinary provisions concerning the law to be applied in this Court of Common Pleas prove the incapacity and unskilfulness of its authors. It was provided that,

The Judges in this Court are to determine agreeable to Equity, having Regard nevertheless to the Laws of *England* as far as the Circumstances and present Situation of Things will admit, until such Time as proper Ordinances for the Information of the People can be established by the Governor and Council, agreeable to the Laws of *England*.

The French Laws and Customs to be allowed and admitted in all Causes in this Court between the Natives of this Province, where the Cause of Action arose before the first Day of *October*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-four.³

There was an appeal from the inferior court to the Court of King's Bench in causes of £20 and over. In the Court of King's Bench, the judge was the chief justice of the province, then, and for some time, an English barrister: and in that court in all cases, original or in appeal, the laws of England were applied: in the Court of Common Pleas, the judges were generally laymen—they interpreted the word "Equity" in the Ordinance, not as a lawyer would, *i.e.*, the rule in the Court of Chancery, but according to the principles of natural justice. There was, thus, an extraordinary state of confusion in this court—neither the laws of England nor those of France were regularly applied, but each judge decided according to his own view of "Equity"; it was "the length of the Chancellor's foot" over again. And there was confusion worse confounded when a case was taken up in appeal to the King's Bench with its English law; and still worse if, the cause exceeding £300 sterling, an appeal was taken from the Court of King's Bench to the governor and Council. It is no wonder that a special committee in reporting to the "Lords of the Committee for Plantation Affairs", September 2, 1765, said:

³*Ibid.*, 205-7.

As to the manner in which the said Ordinance appears to have been Drawn up . . . it is in many Parts . . . far from having that Accuracy and Precision that ought to have been particularly attended to in the framing an Ordinance of so great Importance, and upon the Construction of which the Life, Liberty and Property of the Subject depend . . . , [The Special Committee cannot say] Whether these obvious Defects in the manner of framing this Ordinance are to be attributed to the Neglect or the Inability of the Officers in the Law Departments of this Colony, we cannot take upon us to say.³

The responsibility for this lamentable piece of legislation should probably be laid on William Gregory, the first chief justice of the province, an English barrister brought, it was said, from a debtor's gaol, and dismissed two years afterwards. Governor Murray gives him the faint praise that, "tho' perhaps" a good lawyer and man of integrity, he was "ignorant of the World, consequently readier to Puzzle and create Difficultys then remove them."⁴ At all events, Gregory was the only lawyer on the Council—of the other seven, three became judges but were never lawyers.⁵

Except on the part of a few seigneurs who looked at it as a levelling law, the English criminal law was not objected to, but the French Canadian was wedded to his own civil law. Many and grievous were the complaints until the Quebec Act determined that the province should have English criminal, and French civil, law.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 continued the existing law. It is quite true, however, that there was a divergence in the tenure of land in the Lower Province,—some of the grants being in free and common socage while most of the land was held in the feudal or seigneurial tenure: but this was no more anomalous and these tenures were no more different than was the case in England, where free and common socage and copyhold had existed for centuries, side by side.

I have not seen any other account of the manner of Chief Justice Sir James Monk. In 1787, he made before the Legislative Council very derogatory statements concerning the administration of justice in the Canadian courts, which led to an extensive investigation before Chief Justice William Smith, the minutes of which fill thirteen volumes in the Canadian Archives. On the creation

³*Ibid.*, 242.

⁴*Ibid.*, 256, note 2.

⁵See the author's *Pre-Assembly Legislatures in British Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1918, Sec. II, p. 118).

in 1793 of two Courts of King's Bench for the province, one at Quebec and the other at Montreal, Monk was made chief justice at Montreal. His life at the Bar was a stormy one, which is, perhaps, partly explained by Rawle's account of his manner. His knowledge of law I do not find questioned by anyone else.

Another matter of interest is the constitutional struggle between the governor, Sir James Craig, and the House, which Rawle thus describes:

A gentleman, a Canadian by birth, who had for some time been a member of the Assembly & who by his opposition to Government had acquired great popularity, was for some cause or other (probably on account of that popularity) suddenly made a judge. Immediately he changed sides: he became the warm partizan of the Executive & openly advocated all its measures with as much zeal as he had formerly taken the part of the people. Incensed at his apostasy, the popular party determined that if they could not deprive him of the patronage of the governor, they would at least exclude him from the house. Accordingly a bill was passed declaring a judge to be incapable of holding a seat, which passed the representatives. As in the Act granting the constitution of Canada, no such exclusion is to be found, it would have been a violation of that Act to make such a law: it was therefore rejected by the Governor; who finding there was no prospect of business being done in a regular way, & that the house had become very clamorous, dissolved the Parliament. To the next Parliament the gentleman was elected & took his seat. The same business was renewed, the same warmth ensued, upon which the Governor thought proper again to dissolve it. This unpleasant dispute was at length happily terminated by the gentleman himself who declined another election leaving the controverted point unsettled. During these heats seditious & inflammatory pieces frequently appeared in the public prints & in the form of pamphlets: these were answered with warmth by the other party but as they were merely ephemeral productions, few of them could be obtained when I was in Quebec.

The Governor issued a proclamation offering a reward for the detection of these anonymous writers & warning the people against their seditious suggestions.

This is not quite a fair account of a striking incident in the history of Lower Canada. The fact is that for some time there had been growing a feeling that judges should not be mixed up in the political concerns of the province: and, in Sir James Henry Craig's first parliament in 1808, a resolution was passed (22 to 2), in the

Assembly that it was expedient to exclude judges from the Assembly: a Bill to that effect passed the House but was rejected in the Legislative Council. This did not, however, cause a dissolution or even a prorogation: the Assembly continued its work, one of its measures being the ejection (21 to 5), of Ezekiel Hart, M.L.A., because of "professing the jewish religion": (and, by the way, his constituents of Three Rivers, with proper spirit, at once re-elected him). This was in the fourth session of the fourth parliament of Lower Canada: and P. A. De Bonne (the judge referred to by Rawle) was one of the members for the County of Quebec, having been elected in 1804 at the general election of that year.

The fourth parliament being dissolved, at the general election of May, 1808, De Bonne, now a judge, was one of the two members elected for the County of Quebec as before. The House, meeting on April 9, 1809, went into the matter of the election of the Jew and the judges, and, after it had spent about five weeks over this, the governor, becoming tired of what he considered a waste of time, dissolved parliament on May 15.

The general election took place in October, De Bonne being again one of the members for the County of Quebec. The House met on January 29, 1810: in the Speech from the Throne, the governor spoke of the proposal to exclude the judges of the Court of King's Bench from the House, and said that, whatever his own opinion was, he could not give the royal assent to a measure which excluded any class of His Majesty's subjects, but that if such a Bill were presented to him, concurred in by both Houses, he would take His Majesty's pleasure upon it. He said, however, that the right could not be taken away "by any other authority than that of the concurrence of the three branches of the legislature." The House resented this, but passed a loyal address; then later proceeded to pass a resolution (18 to 6), "That P. A. De Bonne being one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, cannot sit nor vote in this House." The governor at once, and for the reason that the House had usurped the functions of the other branches of the legislature by this resolution, dissolved parliament.

At the general election for the seventh parliament there were two well defined parties; the one, Canadian, composed of French Canadians, and chiefly rural and agricultural, called by their opponents "Frenchmen", "democrats", "boutefeus," etc.; and the other, the British party, who called themselves the Loyal Party, and were called by their opponents "Anti-Canadiens", "choyens", "Anglais", etc. This was a most turbulent election; treason was

freely charged; the governor issued his Proclamation of Warning—and Mr. Justice De Bonne wisely declined nomination, because, the suspicious say, he expected to be called to the Legislative Council—an expectation which, if it ever existed, was doomed to be disappointed. Such was the state of affairs when Rawle visited the province. The agitation against judges in the Assembly died down with De Bonne's retirement from the political field—there can be no doubt that it was largely because of him that the difficulties originated. At length the Act of 1843, which came in force in May, 1844, made it impossible for any judge to be a member of the House.⁶

This paper may fitly conclude with the Philadelphian's estimate of the French-Canadian "peasantry":

I never had a proper idea of peasantry until I saw that of Canada. A more miserable race does not exist. They do not appear to have advanced a step for a century. They are excessively idle; spending half their lives in drinking, smoking & lounging; and provided they can live from day to day seem quite indifferent about securing for the future greater comforts either for themselves or for their children. They suffer lands, which with a little care would produce abundant crops, to lie neglected and get from them scarcely enough to supply their immediate wants. Yet notwithstanding their indolence and inactivity, they have all the politeness & vivacity which so strongly mark their nation.

Then as now the Anglo-Saxon and the Gallic minds could not meet—*joie de vivre* and anxious thought for the morrow had difficulty in being reconciled. It would be interesting to hear a contemporary French Canadian's views of the manner of life in rural or urban Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

⁶ 7 Vict., c. 65 (Canada). The story of judges in the parliament of Upper Canada is given in the author's articles in the *Minnesota Law Review*, February and March, 1919.

CORRESPONDENCE

400 Wilbrod Street,
Ottawa, Ontario.
27th December, 1927

THE MANAGING EDITOR,
THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,
TORONTO.

Dear Sir,

In the course of an article in the last number of the REVIEW, Mr. Dewey said as follows (p. 284):

Nevertheless they [the imperialists] did not seek to re-establish the old colonial system, to make of the Empire, as Mr. Ewart would have us believe, "an aggregate of subject territories ruled over by a sovereign state."

Inasmuch as it would not be right that readers of the REVIEW should remain under the impression, created by this sentence, that I am a doddering idiot, I have to ask you to publish this, my denial of having ever made such a ridiculously foolish effort as that attributed to me by Mr. Dewey. He refers to No. 2 of my *Kingdom Papers*, page 26; but there is not there a word which can, by exercise of any ingenuity, however malevolent, be twisted into the slightest appearance of rendering even a semblance of shadowy support to his purely concocted libel.

Regretting that I have to trouble you about a personal matter, I am,
Yours truly,

JOHN S. EWART

714 Hamilton Hall,
Columbia University.
4th January, 1928

THE EDITOR,
CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,
TORONTO.

Dear Sir,

Apparently at least one of the points I endeavoured to make in my contribution to your last issue calls for further elucidation, but as I do not quite understand the purport of the criticism offered, it is somewhat

difficult to answer it. If, as hardly seems possible, Mr. Ewart's impression is that I have identified his efforts with those of the Imperialists, this should be dispelled by a re-reading of the sentence at issue. If, as would seem more likely, my understanding of his interpretation of Imperialism is involved, may I crave space for a brief further comment? One of the main purposes of the article in question was to explain the nature and aims of "Imperialism" on the basis of a survey of the public utterances of admitted leaders of this school of thought. In justice to the Imperialists and in deference to historical accuracy, it seemed essential to draw a distinction between Imperialism and the contrasting point of view termed "Colonialism", and to point out that government of, by, and for, Downing Street was *not* the outstanding objective of the former. To me one of the most striking features of the Britannic controversy has been the frequent tendency on the part of many Nationalists to merge these two points of view in their discussions, and to launch against Imperialism much of the criticism which should properly be reserved for Colonialism. Exigencies of space, not any desire to invoke personalities, led me to cite only two illustrations (which seemed typical) in support of this contention, one from Mr. Ewart's writings, the other a statement of Sir Wilfrid's. I might instead have used several others, for instance the following extract:

Sir George Perley asked what Mr. Bourassa meant by the word "Imperialist". Mr. Bourassa replied that by "Imperialist" he meant a man who believed that the British Association of Nations should be conducted primarily from London by the influence of London, and for the advantage of the United Kingdom. (March 22, 1926; *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*. Vol. 7, p. 783.)

The validity of my including Mr. Ewart in this category appears to be what is called in question. Such a point should be determined on the basis of his whole contribution to this particular discussion, which is readily available to your readers, but I merely noted No. 2 of *The Kingdom Papers* in the citation, as representative. This purports to examine the nature, purposes and effects of Imperialism (p. 25), and, as what might be termed the "text" of the essay, cites (p. 26) the dictionary definition of "Empire" which I quoted. I submit that to the reader this essay carries the implication that an aim of the Imperialists was to maintain, or establish substantially, the basis of relationship set forth in the definition which Mr. Ewart selects. More specifically, Mr. Ewart cites (p. 52) the hope of "that excellent imperialist, Sir Edmund Walker," for "an imperial parliament representing all parts of the empire," and makes this comment thereon: "But that is not imperialism at all. There is no relationship of dominant and subordinate in that scheme. It is one of equality. The United States, for example, is a federation, not an imperial

federation." Continuing, he argues that many persons calling themselves Imperialists are really Nationalists, and easily recognize this "as soon as imperialism is properly defined" (p. 53).

I personally hold no brief for Imperialism. I merely advance the contention that the Britannic controversy can be understood only on the basis of a triple, not a dual classification of viewpoints, that to confuse Imperialists with either Colonialists on the one hand or Nationalists on the other merely beclouds the issue, and that this same confusion, this refusal to admit a third possible choice between Colonialism and Nationalism, has been a most potent factor in consolidating Canadian opinion and in determining the course and outcome of this controversy.

Yours very sincerely,

A. GORDON DEWEY

Ottawa, Ontario.

10th January, 1928

THE EDITOR,
CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,
TORONTO.

Dear Sir,

In the December number of the REVIEW Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, in reviewing the *Journals of La Vérendrye*, drew attention to certain errors in the footnotes, for the most part in the identification of names.

May I say in the first place that, while I appreciate the kind things Mr. Fauteux says about the editing of *La Vérendrye*, I am even more grateful to him for pointing out errors? The reviewer who, after a perfunctory examination of a book, speaks of it in terms of extravagant praise, and implies that it is practically flawless, insults the intelligence of both author and public. On the other hand, both praise and criticism from such an acknowledged authority as Mr. Fauteux are thoroughly acceptable.

The identification of men who took a part in the history of French Canada presents exceptional difficulties. It is in every sense a specialized field, and one in which I cannot for a moment pretend to be an expert. In dealing with such names in the journals and letters of *La Vérendrye* and his sons—and there are not only many of them, but the references are sometimes extremely vague—I was compelled to rely upon the advice of French-Canadian friends who had made a study of this field. Unfortunately at the particular time I was engaged upon this part of the work, Mr. Fauteux was absent from the country, and I could not avail myself

of his very wide knowledge, a knowledge which he is always most generous in putting at the disposal of his fellow-workers in the field of Canadian history.

Most of Mr. Fauteux's corrections I accept unreservedly. In one case, however, I venture to suggest that the question is not quite free from doubt. Mr. Fauteux says: "As to Pierre de la Vérendrye junior, whose place and date of death are unknown according to Mr. Burpee, we take this opportunity of recalling that he died at Quebec on September 14, 1755, and consequently cannot have served under Montcalm." In the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* in 1920, Abbé Caron published a certificate of the death at Quebec of one Gautier de Varennes de La Vérendrye in 1755. No Christian name appears in the certificate, but Abbé Caron identifies this man as Pierre de La Vérendrye the younger. In October, 1921, Mr. E. Z. Massicotte of Montreal published a note in the *Bulletin* to the effect that among the contracts in the Montreal archives was one made by Pierre de La Vérendrye before Daure de Blanzky, notary, hiring a blacksmith Pierre Gaboury dit St. Pierre to go west. As this contract was dated 1756, it seemed evident that Pierre de La Vérendrye could not have died at Quebec in 1755. So far as I am aware Mr. Massicotte's statement has not been contradicted, and as there is no other evidence as to when or where Pierre died, I felt that I was justified in saying that the place and date of his death were unknown.

Yours truly,

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Dictionary of the West Greenland Eskimo Language. By DR. SCHULTZ-LORENTZEN. Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel. 1927. Pp. 300.

MORE than two hundred years ago Denmark began her great work of colonization in Greenland, and, in the years which have gone by since the landing of Hans Egede in 1721, the population of the country has passed through a development from Stone Age people to a mixed Danish-Eskimo race under forms which have undoubtedly been unique. Behind all this work lies the respect of the Danes for the culture of the Eskimos; for simultaneously with the establishment of trading stations and the development of practical occupations for the benefit of the future of the Eskimos, not only have scientists, but also zealous officials, employed under the colony management, shown such interest in the prosperity of this great Arctic colony that one may point with pride to a literature which, describing land and people, dates back to the very first years. The scientific expeditions which travelled and described Greenland and the Greenlanders must in no way be underrated; but it must be acknowledged that their road was very often opened for them by those men who, through generations, lived in the country and were sympathetic towards the problems which in turn arose.

The Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland, which by means of its imposing series of publications has brought Danish Arctic exploration to the knowledge of countries abroad, has now sent out a *Dictionary of the West Greenland Eskimo Language*, compiled by the well-known Greenlandic lecturer, Schultz-Lorentzen, who has spent almost a life-time in north and south Greenland as a minister and seminary principal. This dictionary, which is the first completely compiled dictionary of an Eskimo dialect ever translated into English, supplies a long-felt want. It is a somewhat revised edition of the Greenland dictionary which was published by the same author in Copenhagen in 1926, an extremely valuable and instructive work, the result of collaboration between Danes and Greenlanders. Danish ministers of religion have placed their observations and collections of words at the disposal of the author, who has also had valuable assistance in the person of the well-known Greenland minister and

writer, Hother Ostermann. The preparatory work was commenced as far back as in 1911 by the then lecturer in Greenlandic, Christian Rasmussen, in collaboration with the author.

Danish interest in the Eskimo language is of old date. As early as in 1656 the first linguistic notes made their appearance, but it was not until 1750 that the first Greenland dictionary was published by Paul Egede. Schultz-Lorentzen's dictionary is the fourth of the series, and while it is, as the author says in his preface, based upon the previous publications such as Fabricius in 1804, Kleinschmidt in 1851, and Chr. Rasmussen's Supplement in 1893, much has been taken from old and new Greenland literature. To one who, having a knowledge and love for the Greenland language, goes through the book, it gives nothing but pleasure to see the manner in which the living language is represented in this dictionary. To a most admirable degree the author has succeeded in raising his work above the usual dry listing of words, and has, in the space allowed him, given a wealth of apt examples of colloquial speech.

The book, one of large format, and got up in a beautiful and dignified manner, will undoubtedly become a very popular hand-book in a short time, not only with foreigners who wish to familiarise themselves with the difficult Greenland dialects, but also with Greenlanders who feel a desire to learn foreign languages. Considering the rapid development of culture during the past half generation, the dictionary will certainly have its great and particular mission among the native population.

It is a pleasure to the writer of these lines to draw attention to this interesting work. After almost twenty years' study of Eskimo culture in Greenland, it fell to my lot from 1921 to 1924 to lead the Fifth Thule Expedition, which carried us to the Canadian and to the American and Siberian Eskimos. No one can have a deeper respect than we Danes for all that we owe to explorers in these lands, a long list of weighty, sometimes pioneer names, which have helped to give vitally important contributions towards the understanding of one of the world's most interesting peoples, the Eskimos, who live scattered over half the periphery of the world, from the coasts of East Greenland to the regions round East Cape, west of the Bering Strait. The reason why we Danes have ventured beyond our own domains is, first and foremost, that we have felt a desire to form an independent view of Eskimo culture as it is expressed in other parts of the world. And behind this desire is not only the interest in that which others did before us, but, perhaps more than anything else, love and respect for the bravest, the hardest, indeed the most admirable, of all primitive hunter races.

A Dane who has devoted himself to Greenland and the Eskimos lays a whole life's work before English readers in this book. May the book,

therefore, secure an interested and sympathetic reception abroad, and also encourage a continued, penetrating study of Eskimo life and Eskimo culture in the countries which bear the responsibility of the development and future of this people.

KNUD RASMUSSEN

Responsible Government in the Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. Revised and rewritten to 1927. Two volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. lxiv, 1-594; 595-1339.

The British Commonwealth of Nations. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL and H. DUNCAN HALL. (World Peace Foundation: Pamphlets, 1926, Vol. X, No. 6.) Boston: World Peace Foundation. Pp. 573-693.

It is necessary at once to remove any misconceptions about Mr. Keith's latest work, in order to make it clear that it is not merely a new and revised edition of his *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, which appeared in 1912. It is, indeed, based on the older work, and, in the sense that it deals with the same subject-matters, it is true that it is a new edition; but it is well to emphasize the fact that Mr. Keith has written what is in reality a new book, which will at once take its place as the outstanding treatise on imperial constitutional law, practice, and custom. For completeness, and for insight, it need fear no rival. We shall place it on our shelves with Anson, Dicey, and Maitland, and we shall turn to it again and again as a harbour of sanity, a secure roadstead of wisdom, in those doctrinaire storms which every constitutional wizard seems determined to call down on us from the clouds of "status" and "autonomy".

The mention of Maitland affords opportunity for calling attention to the sly and subtle humour which runs through the book, especially in the notes. In addition, Mr. Keith delights in challenging phrases, in Tacitean expressions, in bold criticisms. From Lord Curzon, General Smuts, and "the thunderer", down through all the hierarchy of public men and "the third estate", he administers praise and blame, with a profound contempt for ignorance, verbosity, and dialectic. What is it but a "constitutional monstrosity" to assert that the king can act directly on the advice of Dominion ministers (I, xiii)? How delightfully the misuse of italics is pointed out in the *Report* of the Imperial Conference of 1926, when, in fact, the true emphasis is on difference of function, and not on equality of status (I, xiv)? Surely there is nothing "undignified" in a governor-general consulting an expert instead of his private secretary or a text-book (I, xxii)? What more "deplorably mischievous" than the "stupid misrepresentations" of *The Times* distinguishing between the "loyalty" of Mr. King and of Mr. Meighen (I, 146)? The Progressive party is "the most unintelligent party yet produced in Canada" (I, 149). The king's

effigy is rejected in the Free State postage stamps in favour of "hideous designs" (II, 940). General Smuts is often "careless in his expressions . . . and rhetoric in premiers is dangerous" (II, 1001). Quebec supports the Privy Council "except when it overrides Quebec Acts, when it can be abused with truly Gallic vivacity" (II, 1103). Leading politicians "can talk without patent absurdity about the Dominions as autonomous nations, free and equal members of a British Commonwealth of Nations—an odious phrase to which no person has yet ascribed an intelligible meaning, but which appears to have the same satisfactory sound to certain types of mind as the blessed word Mesopotamia" (II, 1145). "Equal nations" "equal partners" is "childish folly" (II, 1104). The *Round Table* group have abandoned their "youthful exuberance", their "absurdities", their "pursuit of chimeras" (II, 1162), although the *Round Table* can still be guilty of "much muddle-headed thinking" (II, 1195). We refrain from quoting the descriptions of the mentality of Quebec, or of the Presbyterians who helped to form the United Church (II, 1134, 1136), as in both cases Mr. Keith deviates from sound judgment and good taste.

The treatise is largely a technical elaboration of the constitutional law and custom of those parts of the Empire which enjoy responsible government, and, as such, it lies for the most part outside the ambit of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. In this connexion it is only necessary to say that Mr. Keith's knowledge and insight are profound, and that his careful distinctions and criticisms are always worthy of consideration. On the other hand, it will well repay the historian and general reader to forget their ignorance of law, in order to trace to earth many buried delicate asides and subtle rebukes, of which we have given some examples. Perhaps all that need be said here is that Mr. Keith has no very high respect for the Privy Council; and it is well to draw attention to his authoritative opinion that Great Britain has little intention of creating a genuine Imperial Court of Appeal because of the low estimation in which the judges and lawyers of the Dominions are held in Great Britain. Failing such a court, Mr. Keith sees the inevitable disappearance of appeals to London, in which, almost more than elsewhere, he finds not merely a negation of "equal status", but a detriment to respect for law and judicial-mindedness. He believes, however, and we are confident that he is right, that there is a certain insincerity in the statement of the Imperial Conference of 1926 that Great Britain does not desire appeals to the Privy Council, save in accordance with local wishes. We recall that the appeal was forced on the Free State by the threat of a devastating war, and we note that the Imperial Conference of 1926 shelved the issue lest the abolition in one place would react on the position elsewhere;

that is to say, "it would offend feeling in Quebec" (II, 1104). All this is doubtless another example of "the blessed word Mesopotamia"!

Of greater importance, perhaps, are the penetrating, if scattered, pages in which Mr. Keith reviews imperial developments from 1914 to 1927. We must preface our synopsis of them by a careful statement of Mr. Keith's attitude toward Dominion self-government, otherwise he may be accused of being an "imperialist", or worse still, of belonging to the "obscurantists of Downing Street." Neither has Mr. Keith ever been "colonially minded." He has always urged in the most unequivocal terms the fullest and freest conception of Dominion self-government. Were it necessary to prove this, attention might be drawn to the severe criticism, which runs through this work, of the constitutional crisis in Canada in 1926. Mr. Keith has no doubt whatever about Lord Byng's mistake, and he has equally no doubt that the governor-general, as the king, has a discretion. An automatic dissolution on ministerial advice may be impossible and unconstitutional for both king and governor. He emphasizes, however, normal proceedings in a Dominion, as in Great Britain, and he confidently believes that self-government should be given its widest and most comprehensive content.

With this in mind, it is a healthy and wholesome thing to read his review of imperial relationships, especially of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which he submits to the finest critical examination. It is not entirely that of a lawyer, rather is it that of a political realist, who fears that the *modus vivendi* between Dominion "equality" and the unity of the Empire may be severely hurt by rhetoric and bombast. For example, there has really been no change in the office of governor-general. He always represented the king. He is not a viceroy either in custom or in law, and for his appointment an imperial minister is responsible. It is well to put on record that he must follow ministerial advice; but there is no good exaggerating the situation, especially since Mr. Baldwin made it clear that the power of disallowing bills has not and will not disappear, unless indeed the Empire is to be legally resolved into a group of treaty-allied nations. Until that day comes—and it seems very far off, with general reluctance to recognize the mutual obligations of imperial defence—the imperial government cannot surrender control. The control, of course, is not for daily use; but it is a latent safety power against dissolution and international offence. Similarly, in treaties and in the appointment of ministers abroad, ordinary civility and imperial custom will recognize that treaties and ministers approved by a Dominion will be fully regularized. But the treaty-making power, the minister-appointing power, remain ultimately in the hands of the king acting on the advice of his British ministers. Canadian executive advice, for example, begins action,

but nothing more. The full powers must issue down other executive channels than Canadian, otherwise the king would become a rubber stamp for policies perhaps divergent; and the parliament of Great Britain might be responsible for issues through an executive which it did not control. The Conference of 1926 doubtless did by far its best work in this connexion in making consultation compulsory between the different treaty-originating organs of the Empire; but nothing has been done to deprive the British ministry of ultimate responsibility. Mr. Keith most carefully points out that the foreign office cannot become lightly a machine. He does not spare his criticisms of the foreign office, of foreign ministers, of foolishly preserved methods; but valid criticism does not blind him to the fact that common sense, quite apart from municipal and international law, should have some place amid the machine-gun rhetoric of these latter days. It is delightful, too, to find him reading lessons to prime ministers and others on the fact that the *obiter dicta* of British civil servants cannot alter one jot or tittle of the real situation. All this, however, is not mere rigidity. It is a sensible effort to see "autonomy" in relation to the unity of the Empire. Great Britain cannot lightly act as though that formal unity did not exist; and nothing worse could be done for that unity than to write, or to say, that the king must act on the advice of his Dominion ministers, and that the foreign office is merely an automatic register of Dominion opinion. The idea that "a secretary of state in such matters is an office boy for a Dominion Government is ludicrous, and is mentioned because it appears to be regarded as even conceivable by writers who clearly do not understand the spirit of our constitution" (II, 882).

Isolated as all this is from Mr. Keith's carefully balanced statements, there is just a danger that an impression may be given that he is a reactionary, and as detrimental to the unity and progress of the Empire as the theorist and the doctrinaire. Nothing could be more absurd. Mr. Keith demands every possible change which reason and wisdom can afford; and he would welcome as wide a reconciliation between the theory of the Balfour report and the obvious facts as would eliminate easily resolved antinomies. It is, however, to reason and to wisdom that he appeals; and he wants to see a course steered which will not threaten the future with some rhetorician at the helm and a theoretical chart in the chart room. For theory followed at the expense of rationalized experience is a dangerous and pestilential guide for an individual or for a state. It need hardly be said that Mr. Keith does not confuse the present issues by any analogy with the difficulties over the grant of responsible government. The two situations differ not in degree, but in kind.

With all this in mind, it is unnecessary to review in detail the pamph-

let by Mr. Lowell and Mr. D. Hall, except to point out that it contains in convenient form some valuable material. It serves, however, to illustrate some of those defects against which Mr. Keith protests. For example, Mr. Lowell states that legally the Crown is in the same position as that between Great Britain and Hanover, while Mr. Hall flatly contradicts him. Mr. Hall writes confusedly about a "common citizenship" in the Empire. He completely misinterprets the phrase in the Anglo-Irish treaty, and he is entirely oblivious of the sound doctrine of local allegiance illustrated so emphatically in relation to an alien naturalized in his own country (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. VIII, p. 322). He has confused the entire episode of the Halibut Treaty, and the ultimate responsibility for all treaties, and he maintains that since 1926 the governor-general is a viceroy. In other words, he falls into those very rhetorical errors which are inexcusable, if not frankly dangerous.

On the other hand, it is emphatically necessary to state that the views advanced by Mr. Hall are those most generally held, and officially acted on, in Canada. From the Canadian point of view, then, in spite of all that Mr. Keith has said, there is little doubt that what is formal and legal remains so, not because it is formal and legal but because it is accepted as imperial custom. We may say that authority lies here or there, but authority must conform to conditions, or it will cease to have any validity. In his reaction against theory in favour of reality, Mr. Keith falls into the other danger of creating a theory of reality, which depends on forms and not on human relationships.

Mr. Keith's work is well indexed and there is a separate list of cases. The volumes are somewhat too large, and we regret that these were not broken into three. There are some points which need attention, but many of them are legal and need not be noted in an historical review. However, for a future edition we notice: "Hudson (*sic*) Bay Co" (I, 7, 345); the Quebec Act hardly denied a representative system (I, 5); the Constitutional Act of 1791 is loosely referred to (I, 6); Sir Charles Bagot's régime is too lightly dismissed as unimportant (I, 16); a lieutenant-governor never receives by local usage the style of "excellency" (I, 76); for "Dominion" read "imperial" (I, 349, last line); "the French of Quebec is a sad business" (I, 377)—if this is a general attack on the type of language spoken in Quebec it certainly needs some scholarly explanation; the exact position of divorce in the Free State (I, 389) needs to be made clear; the place occupied by the provincial franchise lists in a federal election in Canada is not brought out (I, 393); the number of votes cast for the different parties in the Canadian federal election of 1921 ought to give place to those cast in 1926, as that election illustrates far better than the former the meaninglessness of the present system, with Mr. King in a

popular minority compared with the Conservative vote, and with the vote in the Prairie Provinces and in Quebec for the same party standing in violent contrast to its representation in the House of Commons (I, 418); the position of women in relation to the Canadian senate is unfortunately not discussed (I, 427); the statement that it "was first proposed to give the appointment of [Canadian] senators to the Provinces" is loose (I, 464)—McDougall and Mowat first proposed their election, and it was late in the proceedings when Prince Edward Island proposed the American plan before the seventeenth amendment; for "Macdonald" read "Hugh McDonald" (I, 507); the "political dangers" of American immigration to Canada (II, 774) ought to be brought into relation with the fact that the percentage of naturalization in that group is higher than that of all foreign born, and of European foreign born; it is only fair to point out in connexion with the reservation of the Secret Societies' Bill, and its relation to the resignation of Metcalfe's government, that they had his approval for its introduction (II, 776); in relation to the overriding of laws in Newfoundland in 1907, the "Imperial Act of 1919" ought to be that of "1819" (II, 846); for "as nearly as possible one-seventh" read "equal in value to the seventh part" (II, 1137); there need hardly be any fear of a referendum in connexion with the Irish Oath under Article 48 of the Free State constitution (II, 1253), since the constitution, at least here, must be strictly construed, and such a referendum could not be effective in the light of the treaty.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

King Edward VII, a Biography. Vol. II: *The Reign, 22nd January 1901 to 6th May, 1910.* By Sir SIDNEY LEE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1927. Pp. xi, 769; illustrations.

THE divinity that doth hedge a king requires that his official biographer should be discreet and therefore dull; and one can hardly imagine the Lytton Strachey of a generation hence making much out of this book. King Edward's personality was one about which a great deal of gossip collected in his lifetime, but the reader will not find here any of those tit-bits which make the lovers of scandal smack their lips. What the authors give us (the work was planned and partly written by Sir Sidney Lee, and completed after his death by Mr. S. F. Markham), is a detailed account of how King Edward went about the business of being king; and the story is told in workmanlike if not very lively fashion, without any "gush" or false sentiment, and without any attempt to picture him as playing a bigger part in events than he actually did play. One feels that we never quite come into contact with the real man Edward. He was, as is well known, a social leader and a man of the world, with no taste

for art or literature or science. Yet, though we are constantly being assured of his geniality and his social successes, there is not a good saying of his quoted in the whole book. As a king, the book leaves no doubt that he took his duties seriously, and worked at his trade with much more interest and attention than most people would have expected of Edward, Prince of Wales. But the notes and letters and memoranda of his which are so copiously quoted are nearly all those of the business man intent upon the business of the moment. Did he never in more spacious moods confide to any of his intimates his reflections upon politics and royalty and life in general? Had he a philosophy or a religion? We are never told. Perhaps there was nothing to tell.

The decade of King Edward's reign is important in modern English history as the time of preparation for the period of much greater events which was to follow it. In internal affairs it witnessed the growth of the social and political struggle which was to culminate after his death in the Parliament Act and Home Rule. In external affairs it saw the marshalling of the forces that were to produce the explosion of the Great War. The interest in the development of this two-fold drama is what really makes the book interesting. The king's own attention was chiefly centered on European affairs, and the bulk of the volume is taken up with the story of the many diplomatic visits paid by him or to him, and with the part he contributed to the growth of the good understanding with France and Russia and the bad understanding with Germany. To pass judgment properly on this part of the biography would require a detailed review of the complicated diplomacy of pre-war Europe, a task which is beyond the scope of this article. King Edward himself, as the authors constantly remind us, regarded his own personal work as that of a peace-maker; and they certainly try to make the reader see him in that rôle. No doubt he was perfectly sincere in this conception of himself, but surely it is somewhat naïve in a book written in 1927 to talk as if a policy which was steadily directed towards binding Britain more closely to France and Russia, at the expense of a widening cleavage with Germany, was really a peace policy. It is arguable that it was the only possible policy in the circumstances of the time; but, to our disillusioned post-war generation, the optimism of those statesmen who thought that they could commit themselves to the Entente and still keep open the wires to Berlin bears rather too much resemblance to the optimism of those people who think that they can eat their cake and have it too. No doubt the Kaiser and his advisers were impossible persons; but one wonders if the monarch who didn't manage to pay a state visit to Berlin until the ninth year of his reign, although he had found time to visit most of the other capitals a good deal earlier, who openly expressed his relief after his nephew had

left Sandringham, who was "disgusted" at C-B's article in the *Nation* of 1907 advocating reduction of armaments, and who assured Cambon at the time of Algeciras, "Tell us what you wish on each point and we will support you without restriction or reserves", will really rank in future history as the peacemaker that he pictured himself to be.

Internal politics, we are twice told, His Majesty regarded as savouring a good deal of the parish pump. He had his own views on the chief questions at issue, but in practice accepted the advice of his responsible ministers about them. He preferred free trade to tariff reform (and Mr. Balfour to Joseph Chamberlain), but he had little sympathy with the social policies pursued by the Liberal ministries from 1906 on. Especially was he doubtful about Mr. Lloyd George's famous budget, and he viewed with apprehension the attack on the Lords, with whose hereditary character he thought the hereditary character of the monarchy was bound up—surely an unnecessarily pessimistic view of the future of the British kingship. He took a constant interest in everything connected with the army, from the details about uniforms (in which he was "profoundly interested") to the organisation of the expeditionary force; he was a sharp critic during the Brodrick and Arnold-Forster régimes at the war office, and a vigorous and valuable supporter of Mr. Haldane in his programme of army reform, as he was of Lord Fisher in his reorganisation of the navy. He had little use for the pacifist element in the Asquith cabinet which opposed increased naval expenditures. Yet, curiously enough, of the four prime ministers of his reign, he got on best with the radical pacifist Campbell-Bannerman; and he had a strange admiration for John Morley, whom he wanted to appoint as Lord Acton's successor at Cambridge, and whom he included in the first group of men to receive the new Order of Merit. "With Campbell-Bannerman and Morley especially he encouraged relations of familiarity which exceeded in warmth and frankness anything that had been experienced during the Conservative régime." Neither the warmth nor the frankness seems to have continued during the Asquith régime.

Lacking the same keenness about internal policy which he felt about foreign policy, the king was chiefly intent on maintaining his monarchical prerogatives. He revived the ceremonial side of the monarchy which Queen Victoria had neglected, and emphasized "all the outward and visible signs of the monarch's central place in the constitution." He insisted on being kept in touch with all important decisions of his ministers, and was "resolved that nothing should be done in his name unless he had been consulted," and that "the royal prerogative should remain royal." He complained of each of his prime ministers in turn that he was not given sufficiently full accounts of cabinet meetings. He was

constantly, at least in the early part of his reign, checking up ministers who failed to take him into their confidence; and, if any minister transgressed by announcing in parliament or the press a policy which had not first been submitted to the king and received his sanction, the unfortunate offender was made to feel the royal displeasure in very plain-spoken rebukes. In all these matters he based himself upon precedents from his mother's reign, with disquisitions upon which he was plentifully supplied by Lord Esher. Indeed, on some occasions, while the hand is the hand of Edward, the book leaves one a little uncertain whether the voice is not the voice of Esher. In the end, however, whatever his differences with his ministers, the king always showed himself a good Whig by giving in to their insistence. The authors note the curious fact that it was the Conservative government which "made the most resounding attacks upon what was left of the royal prerogatives." Mr. Balfour, in 1905, to the king's great displeasure, announced that the Commons could insist upon dissolution, and that the cabinet had dictated this particular dissolution. In 1903, when the Anglo-French agreement involved the cession of some territory in Africa, he insisted that the consent of parliament was necessary, and another royal prerogative went by the board.

The most critical question concerning the prerogative was, of course, just approaching when King Edward died. At the budget crisis he had, with the consent of Mr. Asquith, attempted to mediate between Commons and Lords by discussions with the Conservative leaders, and he was hurt at the blunt way in which they rejected his moderating advice. But when the Liberals, in the process of enforcing the supremacy of the Commons, went on to the policy finally embodied in the Parliament Act, and events were clearly approaching the point at which His Majesty would be asked to assent to the creation of new peers, the king became more and more uneasy. He objected to the way in which some of the ministers were referring to the Crown in their speeches, and he protested against Mr. Lloyd George's abuse of the Lords. His feelings towards the leader of the democracy, indeed, seem to have been almost as intense as those of his mother towards Mr. Gladstone. From the critical decision the king was saved by his illness and death. At the very last moment Lord Esher was plying him with the precedents of William IV's procedure in 1831, and advising a break with his ministers. Fortunately for the monarchy the advice was not taken by his son; and the authors are convinced that it would not have been taken by Edward VII had he lived.

In a book of this kind a Canadian reader naturally looks for references to Canada and the Empire. The usual English biography generally leaves one uncertain whether the paucity of such references is due to the

lack of interest of the subject of the biography, or to the lack of interest of his biographer in affairs so distant from Whitehall and Piccadilly. In the present case it is clear that King Edward was emphatically King of Great Britain, and had little more than a conventional interest in his Dominions beyond the seas, except when these latter were involved in wars or political unrest, as were South Africa and India. There is nothing about Canada in the book except incidental references to the visits of the prime ministers at the Imperial Conferences and to the tours of the king's son. About South Africa and India there is a good deal. The king corresponded frequently with Lord Selborne, and with the viceroys, Lords Curzon and Minto. He was "delighted" with the establishment of Chinese labour in South Africa, and viewed the Liberal government's decision to bring it to an end with alarm. He was nervous about responsible government, but made no definite protest. His main worry was as to whether the measures adopted were such as to secure English predominance in the colony. In Indian affairs he strongly opposed the Morley-Minto policy of admitting a native member to the Viceroy's Council; and, when Morley neatly quoted Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, he wrote in reply a note which his biographers call pungent, but which should surely be called petulant. In his ideas about imperial policy, then, he seems to have been a good orthodox Tory. But a constitutional king can only be a Whig, and, as usual, he gave in to his ministers.

The chief impression which the book leaves is of the conscientiousness with which the king performed his duties. It does not reveal a man of deep insight or of wide views or of any remarkable shrewdness. And by comparison it makes the lady who wrote the *Letters of Queen Victoria* seem very colourful indeed.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

The Correspondence of King George the Third, from 1760 to December 1783, printed from the Original Papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle. Arranged and edited by the Hon. Sir JOHN FORTESCUE. In 6 vols: Vol. I, 1760-1767; Vol. II, 1766-1773. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1927. Pp. xviii, 530; xvi, 532.

THESE two large volumes form the first instalment of the six volumes which Sir John Fortescue is editing from the long-lost, and now recovered, papers of George III. Some of the letters have already been printed, in the *Chatham Correspondence* or the *Correspondence of George III and Lord North*, but a great many letters to and from the king, letters to and from ministers, reports and memoranda on a wide variety of subjects, are here first printed. The editor contributes a brief, but judicious, intro-

duction to each volume. He refrains for the most part from notes or comment in the text, save to record which papers have already been printed. The volumes are competently and separately indexed.

Whilst the first volume begins with the royal accession, the papers only become numerous in 1765—we may surmise that George III began to preserve such documents in that year. Their general importance needs no urging and will doubtless increase with the later volumes. From the two volumes now printed we gain the impression of a sensible, fairly shrewd, and very conscientious monarch, whose chief difficulties were created by the chaos of faction and rivalry into which the Whig party had now fallen. The increased share of the monarch in the business of governing the country appears, from these papers, less as an attempt to revive his royal prerogative, than as a well-intentioned effort to secure that that business shall be carried on.

For Canada the papers are, so far, disappointing. Although the first document in Vol. I is a copy of the orders for the placing in St. Paul's of the French colours captured at Louisburg, there is very little in either volume dealing with the affairs of the newly-won colony in North America. Nor is there much material for the other colonies. Touching Canada there is a letter from Sir Geoffrey Amherst to Lord Ligonier (Oct. 21, 1761, p. 17), referring to the highly favourable report received on the quality of the iron ore from Three Rivers. There is a letter (Feb. 14, 1762, p. 25) from the vicar-general of Quebec (afterwards Bishop Briand) urging the clergy of the diocese to be loyal to the British régime and ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung for the royal marriage. There is a memorandum (? 1768, p. 432) on the disposition of the troops in North America, advocating the abandonment of most of the outlying western posts, as also of some of those in Nova Scotia, "since we have neither Canada nor Neutral French to fear"; the troops should mainly be concentrated in a few garrisons in Nova Scotia. There is a report (p. 483) from the Duke of Grafton to the king on the debate in the House of Lords of June 1, 1767, in which the Duke of Richmond secured a majority for a motion that affairs in Canada had for a long time needed regulation, but was naturally defeated in an attempt to censure the government thereupon. In Vol. II the references are still scantier. There is only a brief reference (p. 294), in an able memorandum of Carleton, made during his stay in England in 1771, to the means to be adopted against possible French attack. The regaining of that dominion, though not lucrative, would be most advantageous to France on account of the strong foothold it would give her on the North American continent. It is to be presumed that the later volumes will contain more documents of interest for students of Canadian history.

R. FLENLEY

New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada. By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. New York: Columbia University Press; Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. 291.

THE title of this wholly admirable monograph marks a new starting point for the study of Nova Scotia. Old Acadie was a bastion of French power on the St. Lawrence; and it was, also, the nearest and most vulnerable enemy strongpoint for the "Bastonnais" in the long wars between the French and English colonies in America. The final conquest was effected by forces from New England; the tiny garrison which held Annapolis Royal for nearly forty years were all New Englanders. New Englanders swarmed to the new capital on Chebucto Harbor, became the merchants there, sat in the first Assembly, and forced the autocratic military governors to grant them "the rights of Englishmen." When the Acadians were forcibly expelled, Lawrence, that man of iron, designedly called in settlers from Connecticut and Rhode Island to occupy their lands. Chittick is quite right in declaring that ever since the effective British occupation, Nova Scotia has been more truly New England than New Scotland. The official title is almost a misnomer.

Dr. Brebner belongs to the Toronto school of *Junghistoriker*, and manifests the two qualities which have given it distinction, scientific thoroughness in research, and literary art in presentation. Its ideal is learning without dullness, history which can be read. No previous student of the period has given closer attention to the sources, printed and manuscript, or weighed more judiciously all available evidence for conflicting views. The documentation will satisfy the most pedantic researcher, while the very freshness of the chapter-headings betokens the constant grace and vigour of the style. Such rubrics as "The Puritan Crusade", "Counterfeit Suzerainty", "Caught Between the Duellists" certainly excite interest, and do anything but disappoint. The book is by far the fullest and ablest account of the period yet written.

To the list of "faults escaped" must be added "gallent" (p. 30), "Louisburg" (p. 65), "Pontach's" for "Pontack's" (p. 243), and "contral" (p. 265). Surely "to be" has dropped out (p. 23, p. 116) between "ordered" and "disbanded"; and on p. 232 (foot), Dr. Brebner cannot mean that the happiness of the Acadians lasted only four years.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne: Misadventures of an English General in the Revolution. By F. J. HUDLESTON. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1927. Pp. 367; illustrations.

BIOGRAPHIES, like histories, used to be a little too sedate, too much inclined to isolate their heroes not only from our living selves, but also

from the more intimate human points of contact between these heroes and their own contemporary friends and foes. Now, the balance has swung too much the other way; for many a so-called biographer delights in making the most of the petty, weak, or seamy side of all conspicuous characters, and even of the truly great. The old surroundings of a "standard" life were a little too palatial. Now they are often far too slummy. "Outsiders" might expect the author of *Warriors in Undress* to make his new bid for popularity by appealing to that undesirably large public which revels in key-hole peeps, salacious gossip, and everything else that is congenial to its special taste. But he never forgets that "Gentleman Johnny" really deserved his name, and that the "misadventures" of the dire campaign from Canada to Saratoga were caused far more by others than Burgoyne. He must not be blamed for not writing a military classic; for he does not profess to make the attempt. But, on the other hand, the more expert kind of reader must not mistake this book for a mere *réchauffé* of odds and ends, served up with the usual "journallesy" *sauce piquante*. The publisher's puff on the cover doubtless adds to the "sales appeal", from the outsider's point of view, by saying that the author draws his stinging illustrations "from the most incongruous sources." But this need not detract from the appeal made to those who have an "inside" point of view; for Mr. Hudleston really does know how to weave his threads of evidence together into a congruous whole.

At the same time, the humour is a little too much forced by what, I believe, is sometimes called the "must-be-funny urge." The opening of the Canada chapter (p. 100) is an instance. Nor are some of the succeeding pages any better in other ways. The author must here rely a little too much on those "incongruous sources" for which he is falsely puffed elsewhere. The attitude of the French Canadians was the result of causes which cannot have been studied from the original evidence. The American Revolution was a British civil war, in which the general run of the recently conquered French Canadians could hardly be expected to take a very passionate, much less intelligent, interest. Their better-informed leaders did, however, see that an American conquest, unlike the British one, would mean the extinction of the French-Canadian form of life.

Mr. Hudleston tells the story of the disgraceful breach of faith on the part of the American Congress with regard to the terms of the capitulation at Saratoga, which distinctly provided for the free passage of the surrendered British army home to England. But he is not so clear as some impartial American historians have been. "Congress ended by disgracefully breaking the public faith and never permitting the return of the British troops" (C. H. Van Tyne's *American Revolution*, p. 174). He is, however, quite clear, and rightly clear, in describing, partly by

very apposite quotations, how nobly the American army itself behaved both during and after the surrender—one of many instances in which the fighting forces of a people have behaved better than the politicians or the mass of the people themselves. He is, also, quite clear about Lord George Germain, who has five damning pages of comment and quotation to himself in the chapter on Canada (pp. 113-118).

On the whole, this book is what it professes to be; and, so far as its more serious value is concerned, it might be called ancillary to works which take higher and more general views.

WILLIAM WOOD

Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793 with a preliminary account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Fur Trade of that Country. By ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. (*Master-Works of Canadian Authors*, ed. JOHN W. GARVIN, Vol. III). Introduction by CHARLES W. COLBY. Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada. 1927. Pp. xxviii, 497.

THIS is the fourth volume on Mackenzie to appear in 1927 and the most recent of the editions of his *Voyages*. The choice of this book for publication is difficult to understand, although the editor explains that it was chosen "not so much for its literary style and significance as for its historical and informative importance." A new edition of Mackenzie's *Voyages* carefully edited and annotated, is badly needed from the "historical and informative" point of view, but this is not it. The publishing of this volume will seriously delay a new edition such as the Champlain Society might bring out.

The introduction by Prof. Colby is general and superficial, and rather out of line with recent work on the North West Company. No mention is made of the contribution by Mr. Wade to Mackenzie's early history, although his work is cited in the bibliography. The bibliography is inadequate, and the book shows signs of haste in the proof reading. Several of the well-known photographs of C. W. Mathers, of Edmonton, are included. The pen sketches were probably not intended to be historically accurate in detail. The index will be welcomed by all students of Mackenzie's *Voyages*.

H. A. INNIS

The Northwest Fur Trade 1763-1800. By W. E. STEVENS. (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIV, No. 3, September, 1926.) Urbana: The University of Illinois. 1928. Pp. 204.

THIS volume is concerned with the Old Northwest of the United States,

and represents the first attempt to co-ordinate the results of several important studies which have been written and published on the British occupation of that region from 1763 to 1800. The work is based, however, on primary sources, and much new material has been made available. Its contribution lies in the attempt to show the relation of the fur-trade to the negotiations and struggles of the period, especially in connection with the treaty of 1783 and the Jay treaty of 1794.

The significance of the fur-trade consisted in its dependence on the Montreal traders, and, in turn, on a supply of manufactured goods obtained from England and not available in the colonies, especially during a period of hostility with Great Britain. The success of the trade, the friendship of the Indians, and the control of the trade by the British were dependent on the accessibility of manufactured goods. From these considerations the author explains the influence of the traders on British diplomacy, and the tardy withdrawal of the British from the western posts. With this argument Dr. Stevens has been content to rest. It was, probably, beyond his plan to show its importance to the British Empire during this crucial period. Great Britain had succeeded in retaining an area from which a supply of the staple fur was available, and in which there was a ready market for manufactured goods. Her mercantile policy had failed because of the competition of her manufactured goods with those of the colonies; it had succeeded in areas in which there was no industrial development, but which produced a staple raw material and a market for finished products.

The study is very interesting in its analysis of the background of negotiations. It is less successful in the two chapters describing the methods and organization of the trade. In these chapters a cross-section of the trade is included which unfortunately neglects the general changes of the period. It is important, for example, to know when boats became of general use on the Great Lakes, and what improvements were being made in the canoes and in the organization of the personnel. Attention to the evolution of technique would have saved the author from the conclusions drawn from a comparison of the North West Company organization with the General Stores at Michilimackinac in 1779 and 1785, and with the Miami Company. The distances over which the North West Company was obliged to operate, the fixed capital involved in transport on the Great Lakes, and the slow turnover, necessitated a large organization. The shorter distances to Michilimackinac, the more extensive use of canoes, and the greater possibilities of competition tended to make such organizations unsuccessful in these less remote districts.

Similarly, the importance of the Albany traders has been neglected, and the position of the British traders overemphasized. The American

trade was handicapped by the emigration of traders from Albany. It is pointed out that the British traders displaced the French, probably less because of ability than of the connections with the London houses, but it is significant that traders named Ellice left Albany at the outbreak of the Revolution, and that the Hon. Edward Ellice was a deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1858 to 1863. McTavish traded from Albany, and Alexander Henry and Peter Pond were born in the colonies. The Ellices, McTavish, and the McGillivrays, who with their descendants dominated the fur trade, the North West Company, and to a large extent the Hudson's Bay Company, as its successor, began with experience in the Albany trade. Why did the influence of Albany persist?

One or two errors have crept into the work. It is difficult to understand the distinction made between a "bourgeois" and a partner (117). *Gouvernait* should be *gouvernail* (153). It is very doubtful whether the XY Company was formed as early as 1798 (141). Loaded canoes were valued at £500 on going into the country, and certainly very much more on coming out with furs (155). The volume is carefully documented and has a bibliography for which all students of the period will be grateful. The *Ermatinger Papers* in the Canadian Archives should have been added, and the comments, although excellent, are in some cases rather severe. Charles E. Lait should be Lart (192). There is a valuable index.

Dr. Stevens has produced an excellent study. It is to be hoped that he will round out the work by bringing it down to the War of 1812 or to the Non-intercourse Act, when Canadian traders were finally excluded from American territory.

H. A. INNIS

A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. By ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. xiii, 343; maps and illustrations.

THIS book was originally offered as part of the work for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Toronto, but it was quite worth printing for itself. One can only wish that all histories of religious bodies in Canada and elsewhere could be written by men with the same high standard of mental discipline and careful research as is shown by Professor Dorland. In dealing with the work of other communions, and in discussing the various schisms which have at times rent the Quaker body, he is impartial and generous and understanding, without being colourless. Possibly, in dealing with such political events as the Rebellion in Upper Canada of 1837-38 or the Great War, he is a little too much inclined to moralise about "aristocracy" and "privilege"; but this is a trifle. The difficulty

about such a book is to preserve even the appearance of unity. In writing the history of Canada it is always difficult to give cohesion to the scattered interests and settlements, and this is especially true in the case of such loosely united communities as those of the Quakers. Again and again we are given the history of some small pioneer Preparative or Monthly Meeting, and then told how the settlement was gradually engulfed in the general life "not perhaps without making some contribution to the common good." This is not merely a pious hope; it is the expression of a solid fact. The Quakers were admirable pioneers, quiet, law-abiding, thrifty, and hard-working. Writing to Governor Simcoe, Henry Dundas calls them "perhaps of all others the most useful to an infant colony" (p. 55). Mr. Dorland is justified in saying that they "left their impress upon the thought and life of the Canadian people." But the exact extent to which they left this mark, the various channels along which their influence flowed, are almost impossible to trace; and Mr. Dorland has wisely made little effort to do so; although in Chapter I, "The organisation, discipline and distinctive testimonies of the Society of Friends", and in the last three chapters upon the relations of the Friends to philanthropy, education and peace, he does his best, and not without success, to knit together some of the spiritual threads.

Among matters of general interest dealt with by Mr. Dorland, is the coincidence of the Quaker migration from 1784 to 1820 with that of the Loyalists. He finds that "while preference for British institutions, especially during the years immediately after the Revolution, was a consideration of which the Government of Upper Canada made the most", the Quaker immigration into Canada was essentially a trickle from the great westward stream into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. In dealing with the separations of 1828 and 1881, he shows how, unlike the picturesque but local schism of that illiterate but interesting mystic David Willson near York in 1812, they link up with such general movements as those of the quietists and the evangelicals. This part of the work is done in admirable tone and temper.

Much of the material in the middle of the book, collected by Mr. Dorland from a multitude of sources, many of them still in manuscript, will be of interest only to the Quakers themselves, or to the scattered communities in which they were settled. But even this part of the book has the merit that it had to be done once, that it has been done by a trained historian, and that it will not need to be done again. Mr. Dorland has made a real contribution to the history of Canada which is very unlikely to be superseded. The book is well printed, well indexed, and well illustrated.

W. L. GRANT

The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier. By L. L. BABCOCK. (Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXIX.) Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society. 1927. Pp. 385, maps and illustrations.

THE intimate acquaintance of the author with local topography and his considerable military experience contribute essentially to the value of this sane and fair-minded outline of military operations on the Niagara frontier in 1812-14. The volume is founded, mainly, as the author states, on official and other contemporary documents, some of which, drawn from the papers of Erastus Granger, agent of the United States for Indian affairs, and from the records of the War Department, have not been published before. The aim has been to set forth the facts, with all possible accuracy and without prejudice, a difficult and rather baffling undertaking due to the frequently contradictory evidence of participants and others looking on from different points of view and writing under the impulse of passion and prejudice. Mr. Babcock may not, perhaps, have quite succeeded, but he has not conspicuously failed. The honesty of his intentions is always apparent, and a little closer revision of his text might have secured the elimination of a slight trace of bias here and there and the correction of a few minor errors in transcription and printing. On the whole his attitude is candid and judicial, and his criticisms are generally sound and logical. Writing without doubt as a patriotic citizen of the United States, his impartiality may be best exemplified by a few short extracts.

Brock was an able administrator as well as a trained soldier. His published letters are numerous and reveal a clear and concise mind. His judgment on men and events was sound and his engaging personality contributed largely to welding Upper Canada into a state of successful defence. His military reputation has little to support it save his boldness, his personal courage which was high, and his capacity for leading men. He was aggressive to the point of rashness at Detroit, which is the only victory he achieved, and that was gained without his command firing a shot. During the period from August 16th, 1812, the date of the capture of Hull's army, until his death on October 13th, his disposition of the slender forces along the frontier was admirable. He instilled his own unconquerable spirit into his command and his influence over the population of Upper Canada was great and survived his death (p. 53).

Mr. Babcock analyses the documentary evidence respecting the effort of Laura Secord to warn Fitzgibbon of an impending attack and arrives at the following disconcerting conclusion, which has already provoked some dissent:

The tale told by Mrs. Secord has been enlarged upon as years have passed and while she may have tried to give warning to the British forces it seems fairly clear that her good intentions were fruitless (p. 103).

Referring to General John Vincent, he remarks that "his excellent work on the Frontier has never received the credit it deserved" (p. 115).

His verdict on the result of the obstinately contested fight at Lundy's Lane is remarkable for its candour:

The Americans were squarely defeated although even yet the battle is chronicled as an American victory. . . . It is the outcome of a battle which determines the victory, not a phase of the fighting (p. 169).

Nearly at the end of his final chapter he eulogises Sir Gordon Drummond as "the real savior of Upper Canada":

From his first appearance on that winter's day at Fort Niagara, when he saw the smoldering and charred remains of the once beautiful Newark until the campaign of 1814 was closed and he returned to England broken in health by exposure and overwork, he put forth a damaging and respectable fight against heavy odds. During this critical period so skilfully did he dispose of his slender forces that he ever presented a firm front; and he was willing to fight wherever there seemed a fair chance of success. At Lundy's Lane his troops were forced back with great loss, but in a very short time he rallied and led them back to their former position ready to fight again. After the sortie at Fort Erie where he lost nearly one out of three of his men, he moved to Chippewa and stood fast against the approach of a force having twice his army's numbers. He was a natural leader of men. He inspired his command with his own contempt for danger and his own confidence in the final result. His name should be held in grateful recollection by the people of Canada (pp. 247-8).

But it must not be thought that Mr. Babcock fails to give due praise to such officers of the United States' army as Brown, Gaines, Ripley, and Scott, and to the courage and good conduct of the soldiers they commanded. His work deserves to be widely read. It is provided with a full index and several useful reproductions of contemporary maps and plans of forts and combats.

A paper compiled by Dr. F. H. Severance, the able secretary of the Society, on *War Losses on the Niagara Frontier*, contains many interesting documents, now first printed. The volume is well produced and well illustrated.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837. By HELEN I. COWAN. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, Vol. IV, No. 2.) Toronto: The University Library. 1928. Pp. viii, 275.

A NEW monograph bearing on Canadian economic history is always welcome, especially a sound, readable piece of research such as Miss Cowan has produced. Although there already existed a good history of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, Miss Cowan, by circumscribing her field, has quite successfully avoided mere repetition, and has cast no small amount of new light upon what must always be one of the most vital subjects for the Canadian historian, the history of

settlement. The book begins with 1783, but does not linger with the Loyalists, passing on to deal first with the dribblets of immigration up to 1815, and thence with the British background of theory and of practice and with the actual movement of emigration down to the date chosen as the close of the study, 1837. It carefully examines the economic depression in the British Isles after 1815, and, against this setting, paints in the various resulting schools of thought. There are four chapters on assisted, two on voluntary, emigration, and one on the process of transportation. Each page bristles with references to manuscript sources, many of which, in so far as the history of emigration is concerned, are used for the first time. Johnson, for instance, confined himself to printed sources.

As Miss Cowan herself remarks, it is much easier to find information on assisted than on unassisted emigration, from the obvious fact that the former was an affair of government. There is always the temptation, then, to get a treatment of emigration out of scale. To a certain extent the book does this, and the casual reader might be led to believe that assistance played a greater part in populating Canada than it really did. As a matter of fact, it is to be suspected that assistance played quite a small part, and that the backbone of the Canadian people is just as hardy and self-reliant a pioneer stock as any on the continent. Here lies a great opportunity for some one to give us a synthesis of the story of settlement which will look for general principles in the chaotic mass of facts available.

Exception cannot very well be taken to a book for not being what it does not purport to be, so that merely regret, not censure, is to be expressed that Miss Cowan did not see fit to extend her treatment into the 'fifties, where she would have found what seems a more logical stopping-point than the year 1837, important though that date is. In the 'fifties, two factors of the first importance for emigration make their appearance. One is the beginning of the change from sail to steam, an evolution which soon revolutionized the whole "emigrant trade". The other is coincident, the approach of the end of available land in Canada, and, therefore, the end of colonization as contrasted with immigration.

Another topic which lay outside Miss Cowan's sphere, but which might have been referred to, is the question as to the net effect of immigration during the period on the growth of population. Vigorous young stocks in a new country have a way of increasing with mysterious rapidity. Upper Canada, for example, doubled its numbers between 1806 and 1825, a period of eighteen years in which immigration was slight; and, although immigration undoubtedly hastened the pace after 1828, there is ground

for thinking that its importance is not as great as appears at first sight.

But these are suggestions rather than criticisms. The book gives an excellent analysis of English opinion, theoretical and practical, on the subject of emigration and drags to light men almost forgotten, such as Wilmot Horton, whose influence in their time was very great. While it does not attempt to preach a sermon on the benefits or shortcomings of assistance, it is rather more favourable than Johnson, who considers attempts at assistance to have invariably been failures (this, perhaps, because Miss Cowan is more interested in the individual immigrant than in the scheme of which he was a part), and controverts the notion that Canada was peopled almost uniformly by poor men.

A few points of detail may be challenged. Where for instance has the southern Irishman been a great colonizer (p. 127)? He has been a great immigrant, but almost wholly an urban immigrant. Were retired officers "valuable additions to the back settlements" (p. 195), or were they not rather, in most cases, misfits who eventually drifted off their farms? Did the English villager, enclosures or no enclosures, ever have a chance of becoming a man of property (p. 46)?

Actual errors are few. On page 41, the duties on Baltic timber are stated to have been imposed in 1809, whereas they were only increased in that year. On page 90, note i seems to be out of place, and on page 242, the area of the Canada Company's Huron tract is given as only 14,490 acres. Book titles given in the footnotes might have been cited in less abbreviated form. There is a satisfactory bibliography and an index.

Let us hope that more of these necessary surveys of the groundwork will see the light of day. The number published in comparison with the number written is altogether too small.

A. R. M. LOWER

A Side-light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858, furnished by the Correspondence of Lewis Tappan and others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Edited with introduction and notes by ANNIE HELOISE ABEL and FRANK J. KLINGBERG. [Washington, D.C.:] The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. 1927. Pp. vii, 407.

THE anti-slavery movement was of common interest to British and American humanitarians from 1830 to 1860. Having secured the freedom of slaves in their own possessions, British anti-slavery advocates entered into close relations with their American brethren engaged in a similar cause. This volume contains the letters of Lewis Tappan, corresponding-secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, written to

John Scoble, secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to others. The correspondence was found by Dr. Abel in the archives of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, which is the present representative of the British society with which Tappan corresponded. The main subjects with which the letters deal are: the Texas question; the position of the black man, whether fugitive slave or free, in the United States, in Canada, and in Liberia; the coastwise slave trade; the attitude towards slavery of the churches, their ministers and their missionary boards; and the chief question of all, how best could Britain aid the United States in her slavery struggle. The references to Canada have chiefly to do with the legal and social position of the fugitive slaves in Upper Canada, the number of whom had been steadily increasing since the thirties, and against whom there were occasional manifestations of racial antagonism. When the Webster-Ashburton treaty was being negotiated there was alarm in both America and England over the clause relating to the extradition of criminals, fears being entertained that this clause might be twisted to secure the return to slavery of runaway slaves. Tappan and his associates interviewed Lord Ashburton in America, while Scoble and his associates pressed their views upon the British government, and, at a later date, corresponded with Sir Charles Metcalfe, governor-general of Canada, asking him to give the negro fugitives his protection and suggesting the possibility of colonizing the negroes upon small grants of land. Clarkson urged Metcalfe to leave for his successor a memorandum of his views with regard to the fugitives, and it is possible that such a memorandum may have come into Lord Elgin's hands and influenced his attitude towards negro colonization as evidenced in the founding of the Elgin settlement in southwestern Ontario.

FRED LONDON

In the Wake of the Wind Ships: Notes, Records and Biographies pertaining to the Square-rigged Merchant Marine of British North America. By FREDERICK WILLIAM WALLACE. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. [1927.] Pp. xii, 282; illustrations.

HERE is a second arresting volume upon Eastern Canadian sailing vessels, by the author of *Wooden Ships and Iron Men*. It is unfortunate that the exigencies of publication so affect the production of work of sound historical value that it has to be served up piecemeal, disguised by title variations. Neither author nor publisher is to be blamed. The situation is created by the limitations of public support.

Mr. Wallace has done a great deed for Canada in compiling, in these two books, a mass of information about our foreign-going shipping in the

age of sail. Such a history is a unit, whether it fills one volume or twenty. But no writer by whom the financial aspect of publication has to be considered would pack into one large costly tome, or series of tomes, with hundreds of illustrations, all the material Mr. Wallace has secured. Knowing that the product would be a book invaluable to historians fifty years hence and unsaleable on the news stand for all time, he would do exactly what Mr. Wallace has done. He would split his monument into sections, carve a different vine wreath on each, and market them all in his lifetime. *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* did not profess to be an encyclopædia of all that had befallen since the earliest heart of oak bound in triple brass first braved the power of Neptune, nor is *In the Wake of the Wind Ships* even an attempt to treat of navigation succeeding the era of sail. Both titles are but varied scrolls about the record of the larger sailing vessels of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

In this second effort there is a studious avoidance of word-painting and the arts of the writer of fiction. The author of all the thrillers leading up to Captain Salvation submerges his personality among his facts. Even so, the facts as he gives them are more thrilling than any sea-cinema yet attempted; perhaps because they are unspoiled by that extravagance of assertion which is the movie's bane. The recorded adventures of Capt. Joseph Elzear Bernier, Canada's master seaman, who has done everything but bring the North Pole home on deck, are matched by the experiences of Capt. Joseph Kenney, St. John, N.B., whaler. There are true stories of mutiny and murder, record passages, haunted ships, wrecks, rescues, and remarkable voyages; much interesting biography; and occasional excursions into social aspects, such as the crimps of Quebec, and the seasonal migrations of the timber-stowers and cotton-screwdrivers.

In the Wake of the Wind Ships is extensively illustrated with portraits of ships, shipbuilders, and sailors. Here again the limitations of commercial publication show themselves. It is not possible to arrange the illustrations always at the point called for in the text, and this impairs somewhat the value of really excellent material. The book amplifies the record unfolded in *Wooden Ships*, and carries it farther, into the somewhat meagre experiences of Canadians with steel sailing vessels. On reading it one is again struck with the tremendous amount of painstaking research and compilation required, to separate, as Mr. Wallace has done, the entries regarding our four thousand foreign-going sailing vessels from the collection of British and American data of a century, in which they have been embedded without distinction. But for such patient poring over customs ledgers, shipping lists, and harbor fyles the memory of a

remarkable era might be *spurlos versunkt*, or, as Mr. Wallace himself phrases it, better, and in pure Canadian, "gone like snow off a fence!"

C. H. J. SNIDER

The Book of Ultima Thule. By ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1927. Pp. 368.

IN this book the author has collected twenty-three papers dealing with the history, the scenery, and the spirit of Nova Scotia. Well has he accomplished the self-imposed task of revealing, if but in "broken gleams", "the visionary beauty of the sea-beaten, mist-mantled, valley-cloven, many-watered, green-garmented Province of Canada which fronts the Atlantic and the rising sun." Every Nova Scotian must feel prouder as he reads these studies, every Canadian must realize better the wealth of history and of tradition that the most easterly of the provinces has to bring to the common store. *The Book of Ultima Thule* makes a real contribution towards creating a Canadian national feeling.

These papers are not historical essays. The author aims only at revealing "the spirit of the place." They suggest and partially reveal the wealth that lies behind. The fact that the book is a collection of detached essays explains certain repetitions of which the reader is at times conscious. Some Nova Scotians, too, may regret that the author has confined his studies so exclusively to two districts in the province—Halifax and "the valley". This regret, however, is but a further proof of the value of the book we have before us.

G. E. WILSON

The Silent Force: Scenes from the Life of the Mounted Police of Canada.

By T. MORRIS LONGSTRETH. New York and London: The Century Company. [1927.] Pp. xiv, 383; illustrations.

MR. LONGSTRETH'S book is the best account of the Mounted Police that has yet appeared. In spite of the modest title it is not merely a series of "scenes" or picturesque incidents, although it includes these. The author has really attempted, with considerable success, to write a connected history, showing the development and expansion of policy and aim under successive commissioners. The record of the force is a signal illustration of the superiority of character to circumstances, with discipline and tradition as the foundations of character, a philosophy of life which does not yet appear to be obsolete. The shadow of politics lies dark upon certain episodes and incidents in the history. One of these is the supersession of Commissioner Herchmer, whose administration had brought the corps to the highest point of efficiency, and whose enforced retirement, while he was still in full vigour, has yet to be explained. The reorganization in 1922 has opened up a new field of operations for the

Mounted Police, and while Mr. Longstreth touches upon this in his last chapters, he does not try to give any systematic account or description. Indeed, the material for such an account is not yet available. The book is admirably written, with wit and humour, and above all with sympathy. There is no attempt to portray the Police as supermen or ideal heroes of western romance. They are shown to be just ordinary young lads with a high spirit and a taste for adventure, and the marvels that they succeed in accomplishing, marvels of self-control and judgment as well as of courage and endurance, are the result of their intensive training and the high point of honour "not to let the force down."

H. H. LANGTON

A People's Best. By O. J. STEVENSON. Portraits by ROBERT ROSS. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1927.] Pp. 266; illustrations.

THE title of this book, as the author confesses, is somewhat misleading. It is taken from a poem by William Wilfred Campbell, in which the phrase is used to denote the poets of a nation. Enlarging this idea, Mr. Stevenson has brought it to embrace not only the poets, but also the novelists, painters, sculptors, and musicians. His book includes slight biographical sketches of no less than thirty-one such figures in Canada's national life. He does not, however, include any soldiers, statesmen, or philanthropists, and even in this chosen field he has confined himself to the period since Confederation. Within these limits, he has compiled an attractive and interesting book. Among the poets he tells the story of the lives of John McCrae, Bliss Carman, Charles G. D. Roberts, Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman, Pauline Johnson, Marjorie Pickthall, Frederick George Scott, Ethelwyn Wetherald, W. H. Drummond, and Wilfred Campbell; among the prose writers, the lives of Sir Gilbert Parker, Agnes Laut, Louis Hémon, Peter McArthur, Stephen Leacock, Miss Marshall Saunders, and Norman Duncan; among painters, those of Horatio Walker, Homer Watson, Tom Thomson, A. Suzor-Coté, Paul Peel, J. W. Morrice, and Charles W. Jefferys; and among sculptors, Walter Allward, R. Tait McKenzie, and Phillipe Hébert. The stage is represented by Miss Margaret Anglin and Miss Julia Arthur; and music by A. S. Vogt. From these sketches the reader will derive an excellent idea of recent developments in Canadian literature, art, drama, and music. Much of the material in the sketches is perhaps available elsewhere, but much of it is based on personal knowledge and study. The book is attractively printed, and the unconventional portraits by Mr. Robert Ross lend an air of individuality to the volume.

W. S. WALLACE

Memoirs. By Brig.-Gen. S. A. DENISON. Toronto: The T. H. Best Printing Co. 1927. Pp. 174.

WHEN John Denison, yeoman, migrated from Yorkshire and founded the family anew in Canada, he did a good thing, as witness the exploits, military and civil, of the third and the fourth generation. When, however, his descendants ask us, as General Denison and his deceased brother, the famous police magistrate, have done, to accept as historic truth the family tradition as to the naming of York, now Toronto, it is necessary to recall the testimony of maps, records of the Sessions of the Peace, and minutes of the Executive Council of Upper Canada. They scarcely corroborate the tradition.

Otherwise the book is well worth while, throwing, as it does, interesting lights upon a great variety of persons, institutions, and events. Among the first are the late Lord Roberts and not a few governors-general and members of the royal family; among the second, Upper Canada College, the Royal Military College, and the Canadian militia; and, among the third, the South African War, great processions in London, and the Victorian era ball, given by Lord and Lady Aberdeen in Toronto in 1897.

In the face of all the present-day nonsense that is uttered in regard to Queen Victoria, it is refreshing to find, as one would expect, General Denison writing appreciatively about her. It is refreshing also to find him administering to High School principals (for, unfortunately, there are more than the one to whom he refers) a well-merited rebuke for impressing upon the boys committed to their care their own idea that it is degrading for one man to address another as "sir".

Among all the countries which the general has visited Canada stands easily first in his affections and in his estimation. The United States of America occupy, apparently, the lowest place.

A. H. YOUNG

Ned, the Ubiquitous: Soldier of Fortune, par excellence: being the Further Narrative of Edward McGowan. By CARL I. WHEAT. (California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. I, March, 1927. Pp. 36.)

THIS is a sketch of the life of Edward McGowan, covering the period between the end of his own narrative (1857) and his death (1893). It is of interest to students of British Columbian history in so far as it throws light upon the character of the man who was, in January, 1859, the centre of an exciting episode known as "Ned McGowan's War." His residence in the province was short-lived, from July, 1858, till March, 1859: but into those nine months he succeeded in cramming a fair amount of excitement. According to McGowan, whose memory is none too accurate,

he celebrated his arrival in British dominions by an unauthorized salute of one hundred guns to the day of American independence—if true, a great breach of hospitality. Reaching the mines he took up his residence at Hill's Bar, the gathering-place of Californians of the so-called Law and Order party,—“the head-quarters of as desperate a gang of villains as ever went unhung.” The author has condensed McGowan's account of his trouble with the authorities. It is interesting, but where it varies from Mayne's version or Judge Begbie's detailed reports the student will have no hesitation in discarding it. Outside of McGowan's plain desire to appear as a hero, he wielded a fluent pen and never permitted such a small matter as accuracy to mar a good story. To that, it may be added that he was writing from unaided memory and under the magnifying influence of twenty years' interval. A row on Washington's birthday, followed by a challenge to fight a duel, but not on British soil, added variety to his short sojourn in British Columbia: the authorities all breathed more freely when it was known that the “Ubiquitous Ned” had sailed for California.

The author makes light of—and finds palliation for—McGowan's lawlessness and criminal misconduct. In fact, he treats McGowan's life as comedy; nevertheless, it was no comedy while it was being enacted, but tense and bitter tragedy both to McGowan and the San Francisco Vigilance Committee, who pursued him with relentless determination, and who, doubtless, would have given him short shrift had they ever got him within their “Fort Gunnybags”. As regards his life in British Columbia, a perusal of contemporary letters will show that he was regarded as the very centre of disorder, and that he was to the officials not a comedian, playing a comedy, but an utterly unprincipled and dangerous man, likely at any moment to precipitate a tragedy.

F. W. HOWAY

My Generation of Politics and Politicians. By W. T. R. PRESTON. Toronto D. A. Rose Publishing Company. [1927.] Pp. 462; frontispiece.

THE value of this book is difficult to assess. Mr. Preston has been for over half a century in close touch with Canadian politics. He was present at the final debate on the “Pacific Scandal” in 1873. As an agent of the Liberal party, he has been repeatedly behind the scenes when important events were taking place; and his opportunities for learning the *histoire intime* of Canadian politics have been unexcelled. On the other hand, the suspicion is irresistible that he is not always a reliable witness. He writes in too violently partisan a spirit to carry conviction: one cannot believe that the Conservative party has been guilty of all the heinous crimes he imputes to it, or that the Liberal party has been

always as pure and impeccable as he paints it. He makes all kinds of reckless charges about the manipulation of ballots by the Unionists in the war-time election of 1917; but he is strangely silent about the West Elgin election in Ontario in 1899, and other regrettable incidents in the history of the Liberal party. In regard to certain persons, such as Lord Strathcona, with whom he has come into conflict, he writes with apparent animus; and the prudent reader has in such cases to make allowance for this animus. Add to this the fact that Mr. Preston is, in details where he can be checked, repeatedly inaccurate, and it will be seen that his book must be used with great caution. In Chapter XXXII he asserts in four different places that the Liberals under Sir George Ross were swept out of office in 1903 (pp. 245, 246, 254), whereas the Ross government, as everyone knows, was defeated in 1905. He boasts that he himself, as commissioner in charge of emigration from the British Isles, "had succeeded where all my predecessors, Sir Thomas [*sic*] Galt, Sir Charles Tupper, and Lord Strathcona had failed" (p. 224). One would have thought that before making such a bold statement, the author would have made certain who his predecessors were. He misspells the names of Lord Shelburne (p. 9), Fergusson Blair (p. 23), L. C. Huntington (p. 69), the Hon. Sydney Fisher (p. 266), Dr. Jameson (p. 275), W. F. Maclean (p. 449), the Hon. G. H. Boivin (pp. 450, 451), and others.

And yet the book is not without interest and value. The very recklessness with which Mr. Preston scatters charges about him, the very indiscretions which mark almost every chapter, render the book highly entertaining and occasionally illuminating. One hesitates to believe many of Mr. Preston's stories, at any rate in the version he gives. The statement, for instance, that in 1923 "five million dollars were placed at Beck's disposal, to secure the election of the Conservative party in Ontario" (p. 251) is surely a pipe-dream. Nor can one take seriously the statement (p. 369) that in the elections of 1917 "there was a committee composed of senior officers, with an office in Piccadilly, which had the duty of finding out soldiers who were too frank in their Liberal sympathies." And as for his account of his interview with Sir Richard Turner (p. 370), whom with his usual inaccuracy he describes as "Sir John Turner", one would like to have Sir Richard's version of it. But there must be in some of Mr. Preston's stories more than a grain of truth. There are many passages in Canadian political history to the understanding of which indeed his pages may provide a clue. No historian of Canadian politics since 1867 will be able to ignore Mr. Preston's narrative. But no such historian, if he desires to be authoritative, ought to accept anything in the book which he cannot verify from other sources.

W. S. WALLACE

On the Old Trail: Through British Columbia after Forty Years. By MORLEY ROBERTS. London: Eveleigh Nash & Grayson, 1927. Pp. xiv, 242; illustrations.

IN 1884, Mr. Morley Roberts, then unknown in English literature, came to Canada from Texas, where he had been employed as a sheep-herder. He worked on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Rockies and the Selkirks; and then drifted to and fro in British Columbia as a manual labourer. The story of that life he told in his first book, *The Western Avernus*.

Forty-two years later (1926), he returned to Canada, a well-known author. In this volume he describes the incidents of his visit. Hastily he skims over its events until, in Winnipeg, he picks up his trail of forty years before. Thereafter every scene recalls to him the happenings of his sojourn and impresses upon him the changes that have occurred in the interval. Constantly he tries to find spots where he had camped, or places where he had worked or tramped, and to discover vestigia of some old tunnel, track, or trail, with its undimmed associations. He is astonished at the development in the mountain section, and, especially, at the city of Vancouver, the site of which, when he last saw it, was virgin forest. He spends some time fishing on Ice river, Mara lake, and Shuswap lake, and, fishermanlike, enjoys recounting his adventures. But he complains—and rightly—of the wasteful destruction of the forests by fire, and axe, and modern logging methods.

The book is interestingly written. Though there are some small errors in historical statements, it will make a fine companion-piece, or sequel, to *The Western Avernus*. The text is interlarded with bits of verse written in an attractive, free-and-easy style. The volume is well-printed, beautifully illustrated, and has an index.

F. W. HOWAY

Oriental Occupation of British Columbia. By TOM MCINNES. Vancouver, B.C.: Sun Publishing Company. 1927. Pp. 170.

THE author has spent his life in British Columbia and in China, the two places closely connected with this subject. In 1907 he investigated the Vancouver anti-Oriental riots; in 1909 he drafted the Canadian Immigration Act of 1910. He is, thus, qualified to deal with the Oriental question, from every angle.

For some years the Chinese have been, practically, excluded from entry into Canada; and Japanese immigration has been limited by a gentleman's agreement, loyally observed. Mr. McInnes is concerned over those Orientals who are now in the province, and the problems arising from their fecundity, their long hours of labour, and their low

standards of living. He points out that they constitute one-twelfth of the population of British Columbia, and that their birth rate is three times as high as that of Anglo-Saxon countries. To him the combination of these factors means that, unless some drastic remedy be applied, the province is on the highroad to Oriental economic control. In his view:

It is war now between the Oriental and the Euro-Canadian for possession of British Columbia; the prize region of the whole Pacific (p. 57).

Therefore, the Dominion government should strictly enforce the present immigration laws; prevent the fisheries of British Columbia from passing into Japanese hands; and forbid the further unrestricted entry of Japanese women (p. 117). The white traders, he urges, should organize and agitate against the Orientals as did the labour interests in the eighties and nineties. The Orientals, because they "are our economic superiors in making a profit from the cultivation of the land" (p. 56), should, by judicious enforcement of vaguely-worded legislation, be kept off it. His argument is that the province must

close our ports to them entirely as immigrants, and disqualify and handicap those already here whose work takes the bread from the mouths of our own people. Thus we might encourage them to go home (p. 132).

Indeed, his chapter on "The Prolific Chinese", especially pp. 68 and 69, indicates that in his view the only good Chinese are the dead ones.

His further movement against these people would be by legislation authorizing the municipal licensing authority to refuse, at discretion to issue trade licences to persons not eligible as voters at municipal elections; empowering that body to classify and deal with tenant farmers; and enabling it to refuse licences for certain classes of business within certain defined areas. This is reminiscent of the statute of 3 Edward IV, whereby basket-weavers, wire-drawers, and other foreigners were permitted to have shops only in a certain part of London. But it seems to us that this problem is one whose roots lie deep, and of which a satisfactory solution can scarcely be found in elastically-worded statutes, interpreted and enforced with bias and partiality.

F. W. HOWAY

The Shadow of Tradition: A Tale of Old Glengarry. By C. HOLMES MACGILLIVRAY. Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers. 1927. Pp. 303. As would be expected from the tartan on the jacket, the thistle on the front cover, and the second part of the title, this historical novel is Scotch. But it is, also, thoroughly Canadian, as are the maps which have been sketched on the inside of the covers and of the adjoining pages. The incidents of shipwreck, fire, settling in Glengarry, travel on the ice, and the War of 1812 are vividly detailed, especially that of the Mac-

donells' hastening down the rapids to augment Salaberry's small force, which was about to be attacked by an American force of superior numbers. In the story appear the great churchmen Bethune, the some-time chaplain to the Royal Highland Emigrants, Strachan, and the Macdonells, the latter of whom became the first bishop of Kingston. There is also an abundance of folk-lore and of local history interwoven with the history of the province. Both the history and the fiction are excellent; and so is the humour.

The book is worthy to be ranked with *The Trail of the Conestoga*, *The Golden Dog*, and *The Seats of the Mighty*.

A. H. YOUNG

Kanada: Gegenwart und Zukunft. By OTTO HEROLD. Hamburg: Koehler & Krueger. 1927. Pp. 63; illustrations and map.

THIS little book is an honest and successful attempt to present Canada to Germans in the right light, and to point out to the would-be emigrant what to do and how to do it when he arrives. It is pleasant for Canadians to hear that the author's mother went out to the Dominion when she was seventy and grew to love the country, if we may use the term "grew" in connection with a lady of that age. It is, also, interesting to hear that Mr. Euler is a son of German immigrants. As, we take it, very many Germans will obtain their information about Canada from this book, and with the growing interest evinced in Canada in Germany, one may presume—if the publishers know their business—more than one edition will be printed, it is, therefore, a pity there are so many misprints and mistakes. Thus the two books upon which Herr Herold's book is based, *Canada as a National Property* (Ottawa, 1926), and *Canada, Natural Resources and Commerce* (Ottawa, 1923) appear as *Kanadas nationale Property* and *Kanada natural Resources* without a date to bless themselves with. Whatever Canada is *de facto*, she is certainly not *de jure* "ein selbständiges Staat" (p. 14). The map is poor and, as railways are the chief feature, we fail to understand why only C.N.R. lines are shown. Be all this as it may, it is clear that *Kanada: Gegenwart & Zukunft* will stimulate German emigration to Canada, and will certainly put out of joint the noses of those in high places who are devotees of what one may call the "Brazilian School", *i.e.*, the advocates of turning the tide of German emigration to Brazil and keeping it there.

L. HAMILTON

La conquête des marchés extérieurs. By HENRI LAUREYS. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française. 1927. Pp. 314.

THIS book, by the director of l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de

Montréal, is a lucid discussion of why Canada should take pains to build up her foreign trade and of the desirable methods to adopt. It is a reasoned plea that successful foreign commerce is the product of careful organization and painstaking study, and that without both of these the Dominion cannot expect to conquer distant markets. About one-third of the book is an examination of the present conditions of Canadian trade. The remainder of the volume is a description of what other states have done and what Canada might do. In this latter section there is much interesting information on the part played by banks in international trading, the different methods of selling to foreigners, letters of credit, and the rôle of the state in the promotion of external commerce.

The author emphasizes the fact that Canadian exports are principally food-stuffs and raw materials, which other countries seek for their manufactures. He believes that efforts should be made to bring a closer balance between such exports and those of the manufacturing industries, and considers that in the Orient and in South America Canadian manufactured products might find markets. But organized effort is essential for any expansion. The author recommends: (1) a careful study of the problems of foreign trade; (2) the co-operation of manufacturers in the marketing of their goods; (3) the development of banking facilities to assist foreign traders; (4) the promotion of a new outlook on the part of manufacturers. They now lose valuable opportunities by their lack of enterprise in seeking foreign outlets for their products.

The book contains much information carefully collected and clearly presented. It is not an addition to economic theory. It is concerned merely with stating a future trade policy for Canada and Canadians, and the recommendations are such that no one would be inclined to disagree with them.

ALEXANDER BRADY

The Indians of North America from "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Edited by EDNA KENTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. [1927.] Two volumes. Pp. xvii, 597; xiv, 579; illustrations.

AMONG the most valuable contemporary accounts of the Indians of New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are letters and reports written by the Jesuit fathers, principally from the wilds of what is now Ontario. The history of these documents is well known: published annually in France until 1673, and irregularly for the next hundred years, they remained virtually unknown to students until the end of the last century, when, following several abridged versions by various

authors, R. G. Thwaites brought out his scholarly *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. Unfortunately, only 750 sets were printed, and rarity, combined with size,—each set comprises seventy-three volumes—limits the utility of the work to any but the specialist. There is, therefore, ample scope for abstracts dealing with special phases of the material made available by Thwaites. The wide interest in the aborigines of North America fully warrants this compilation of the data recorded by the Jesuits. These two volumes, in conjunction with the volume of selections previously edited by Miss Kenton, will be of service not only to anthropologists and historians but to general readers and, especially, to students in colleges and universities. The path to some knowledge of the *Relations* is thus open to many for whom this great compilation has in the past been merely a name.

Miss Kenton has approached her task with careful consideration and a praiseworthy attention to detail. The passages from Thwaites are chosen with discrimination, and his valuable notes are used as freely as his texts. An excellent system of references indicates the exact location in Thwaites of the passages selected, while cross-references to other parts of the volumes guide the reader to accounts of the same or similar occurrences. Thwaites's historical commentary on the Indians is included, and reproductions of plans made by the Jesuit fathers enhance the attractiveness and utility of the two volumes. The most serious mechanical defect is lack of an index.

As a portrayal of what the missionaries saw and thought, the work is admirable, but anthropologists will regret that the editor did not take the opportunity to enlarge the scope and alter the form of her work. If her aim—as is indicated by the title—was to describe the Indians encountered by the Jesuits, this could best have been done by discarding their somewhat rambling reports, which were not written for scientific purposes, and arranging the ethnological material in a concise manner by tribe or subject. The valuable information contained in the *Relations* is, therefore, still somewhat inaccessible. Thwaites recognized the advantages of amplifying the records of the fathers with references to modern works, and, though Miss Kenton cites his notes, she has failed even to refer to the large amount of data on the natives which has appeared in the last thirty years. In fact, the introduction indicates her lack of knowledge of the Indians. She states that they did not work in clay or stone—of what, then, were pots and tools made?—and continues with a glowing account of the Jesuits as scientific investigators. Everyone recognizes and admires their interest in the natives, and their industry in setting down observations under most adverse conditions, but to say that such records elucidate in detail the lives of their charges is inaccurate.

It is unfortunate that Miss Kenton has allowed her enthusiasm to interfere with her critical attitude in ascribing to the writings of the fathers a significance which they do not possess, and which their authors did not intend.

T. F. McILWRAITH

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *Responsible government in the Dominions*. Second edition, rewritten and revised to 1927. In two volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. lxiv, 594; xxvii, 595-1339.

Reviewed on page 52.

LAPOINTE, L.-A. *Le statut international du Canada* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, décembre, 1927, pp. 349-366).

A discussion of Canada's international status, by the minister of justice in the Dominion government.

TURGEON, Hon. W. F. A. *L'autonomie du Canada et sa situation internationale*. (Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire du Canada: Série Historique, III.) Marnes: Gabriel Enault. Paris: Société d'Histoire du Canada. [1927.] Pp. 26.

A discussion of Canada's international relations, by a judge of the Court of Appeal in Saskatchewan.

WAUGH, W. T. *The development of imperial relations* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 82-88).

A survey of the relations of Canada with the Empire during the sixty years since Confederation.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *The discovery of Canada*. (The J. Clarence Webster Lectures for 1926-27.) Sackville, N.B. 1927. Pp. 87-152.

An offprint of a series of papers on Canadian exploration, by the author of *The search for the Western Sea*, which originally appeared in the *Argosy*, a periodical published "by three Mount Allison Literary Societies."

DAVIS, H. W. C., and WEAVER, J. R. H. (eds.). *The dictionary of national biography, 1912-1921*. London: Oxford University Press. [1927.] Pp. xxvi, 623.

Contains biographical sketches of the following Canadians, who died between 1912 and 1921: Edward Blake, Sir Sam Hughes, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir John Murray, Sir William Osler, Sir William Peterson, Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount Stephen, and Sir Charles Tupper, as well as of several governors of Canada, such as the Duke of Argyll, Lord Minto, and Lord Grey.

DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Report on the Public Archives for the year 1926*. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1927. Pp. 25.

Noticed on page 2.

HEROLD, OTTO. *Kanada: Gegenwart und Zukunft*. Hamburg: Koehler & Krueger. 1927. Pp. 63; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 82.

WOOD, WILLIAM and GABRIEL, RALPH HENRY. *The winning of freedom*. (*The pageant of America*, edited by R. H. GABRIEL and others: Vol. VI.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1927. Pp. 366; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

(2) New France

GROSOURDY DE SAINT-PIERRE, Marquis de. *Un cousin canadien en Normandie au xviii^e siècle* (Nova Francia, octobre 24, 1926, pp. 25-27).

A brief account of the life and lineage of Charles des Champs, Sieur de Boishébert, a Canadian officer who became commandant of Acadia.

JARVIS, JULIA. *Louis Hébert*. (The Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1928.] Pp. 24.

An account, for children, of the life of "the first Canadian farmer."

LEYMARIE, A.-LÉO. *Louise de Chomedey et les débuts de la Congrégation de Notre Dame à Villemarie* (Nova Francia, octobre 24, 1926, pp. 28-32).

An account of the connection of Maisonneuve's sister with the founding of Montreal.

LOMIER, Le Docteur. *Les Picards au Canada*. (Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire du Canada; Série Provinces de France, I.) Mamers: Gabriel Enault. Paris: Société d'Histoire du Canada. [1926.] Pp. 59.

A pamphlet dealing with the immigration into New France from Picardy.

MACDONALD, ADRIAN. *Samuel de Champlain* (Ryerson Canadian History Readers.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1928.] Pp. 31.

A brief account, for children, of Champlain's life.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'essaiimage des français et des canadiens-français dans l'Amérique du Nord*. (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, janvier, 1928, pp. 44-47).

An account of a list of artisans, etc., who went from New France or Old Canada to the West, compiled from the notarial records of the province of Quebec.

PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Un grand intendant de la Nouvelle-France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, décembre, 1927, pp. 403-420).

A sketch of the life and work of Jean Talon.

POULIOT, LÉON. *Le "Journal des Jésuites"* (Canada Français, novembre, 1927, pp. 173-191).

Notes on the historical materials contained in the *Journal des Jésuites*, published in 1871 by the Abbé Laverdière and Casgrain.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *The pilots of Wolfe's expedition* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xxi, sect. 2, pp. 81-82).

Notes on two French pilots who guided the expedition of Wolfe and Saunders up the St. Lawrence in 1759.

ROWLAND, DUNBAR, and SANDERS, A. G. (eds.). *Mississippi provincial archives, 1729-1740: French dominion; French-English-Indian relations; Wars with the Natchez and Chickasaw Indians*. Vol. I. Jackson, Mississippi: Press of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. 1927. Pp. 488.

To be reviewed later.

ROY, P. G. *Notes sur Denis Riverin* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, février, 1928, pp. 65-76).

Documents illustrating the life of a secretary of the intendant Duchesneau in New France.

SCOTT, Abbé H. A. *Un coup d'épée dans l'eau, ou une nouvelle apologie du P. Louis Hennepin* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. xxi, section i, pp. 113-160).

A review of a recent biography of Hennepin, and a renewed discussion of the credibility of his narrative.

TOURNEUR-AUMONT, J. *La protestation de La Rochelle contre l'abandon du Canada, 1761* (Nova Francia, octobre 24, 1926, pp. 3-24).

An account, by a professor in the University of Poitiers, of the opposition in La Rochelle to the abandonment of Canada by France at the end of the Seven Years' War.

VAN LAER, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.). *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1668-1673*. Volume I. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1926. Pp. 356.

Contains some matter relating to the history of New France, notably the fact that La Salle was in Albany in 1671, and was not in that year exploring the Mississippi.

(3) British North America before 1867

ABEL, ANNIE HELOISE, and KLINGBERG, FRANK J. (eds.). *A sidelight on Anglo-American relations, 1839-1858, furnished by the correspondence of Lewis Tappan and others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. With Introduction and Notes. [Washington, D.C.:] The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. 1927. Pp. vii, 407.

Reviewed on page 72.

BABCOCK, LOUIS L. *The war of 1812 on the Niagara frontier*. (Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. 29.) Buffalo, New York: Published by the Buffalo Historical Society. 1927. Pp. 385; maps and illustrations.

Reviewed on page 69.

CHARTIER, Chanoine ÉMILE. *Nos premiers députés après 1707* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, janvier, 1928, pp. 9-11).

A discussion of the question whence the French-Canadian members of the Lower Canada Assembly after 1797 derived their knowledge of English parliamentary law and practice.

COWAN, HELEN I. *British emigration to British North America, 1783-1837*. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, Vol. IV, No. 2.) Toronto: The University Library. 1928. Pp. viii, 275. (\$2.00.)

Reviewed on page 70.

CRUIKSHANK, E. A. (ed.). *Memorial of Thomas Otway Page* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. III, pp. 17-23).

The memorial of an inhabitant of the Niagara district, recounting his services in the War of 1812.

DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE. *John Brown at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. III, pp. 40-47).

A paper exploding the local tradition that a settler in the Niagara peninsula named John Brown was the "Lieutenant Brown" who was present at the death of Wolfe.

GREEN, ERNEST. *New light on the battle of Chippawa* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. III, pp. 71-74).

Notes extracted from the "Recollections" of Lord Tweeddale.

GUTTRIDGE, GEORGE H. *Lord George Germain in office, 1775-1782* (American Historical Review, October, 1927, pp. 23-43).

A valuable study of the English politician who was secretary of state for the colonies during the period of the American Revolution.

LONDON, FRED. *The exiles of 1838 from Canada to Van Diemen's Land* (Transaction of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, Part XII, 1927, pp. 5-20).

An account of the exile to Van Diemen's land of the political prisoners implicated in the rebellion of 1837-8. Based on original, and in some cases, unpublished materials.

LOCKRIDGE, ROSS F. *George Rogers Clark, pioneer hero of the Old Northwest*. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. [1927.] Pp. xxi, 210; illustrations.

A vivid and popularly written biography of the conqueror of the Old Northwest.

PAPINEAU, LOUIS-JOSEPH. *Lettres à Louis Guy* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, février, 1928, pp. 81-104).

A series of Papineau's letters, written from London in 1823.

QUAIFE, M. M. *An artilleryman of Old Fort Mackinac*. (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, Vol. VI, No. 3, January, 1928.) Detroit Public Library. 1928. Pp. 33-48.

An account of the life of Sergeant James Keating, of the Royal Artillery, who defended Old Fort Mackinac in the War of 1812.

STEVENS, WAYNE EDSON. *The northwest fur trade, 1763-1800*. (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIV, No. 3, September, 1926.) Urbana: The University of Illinois. 1928. Pp. 204.

Reviewed on page 65.

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Some aspects of Upper Canadian radical opinion in the decade before Confederation* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 46-61).

A study of the Clear Grit movement between 1850 and 1860, and the policies during this time of George Brown and the *Toronto Globe*.

WARNER, R. I. *A day with a veteran of 1813-15* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. III, pp. 118-125).

The author's recollection of the reminiscences of his grandfather, who had taken part in the War of 1812.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Kanada und die Vereinigten Staaten* (Zeitschrift für Politik, xvii Jahrgang, Heft 2, pp. 97-125).

A discussion of the relations between Canada and the United States, for German readers.

KING, Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE. *The message of the carillon, and other addresses*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. x, 274; frontispiece. (\$2.00.)

To be reviewed later.

LANDON, FRED. *The American Civil War and Canadian Confederation* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. xxi, sect. 2, pp. 55-62).

A discussion of the influence of the United States in helping to bring about the federation of the provinces of British North America in 1867.

LEE, Sir SIDNEY. *King Edward VII: A biography*. Vol. II: *The reign, 22nd January 1901 to 5th May 1910*. London: Macmillan and Co. 1927. Pp. xi, 769; illustrations. (\$8.00.)

Reviewed on page 57.

LEMIEUX, Hon. RODOLPHE. *Blake-Chapleau-Laurier* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. xxi, section i, pp. 51-65).

A eulogy of three outstanding figures in the Canadian political history.

PEDLEY, JAMES H. *Only this: A war retrospect*. Ottawa, Canada: The Graphic Publishers, Ltd. [1927.] Pp. 371.

A vividly written account, by a subaltern in the Canadian Corps, of his experiences during the Great War.

PRESTON, W. T. R. *My generation of politics and politicians*. Toronto: D. A. Rose Publishing Company. [1927.] Pp. 462; frontispiece.

Reviewed on page 78.

ROBITAILLE, Abbé GEORGES. *La confédération canadienne* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 62-66).

A brief paper, containing nothing new.

TROTTER, R. G. *British finance and Confederation* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 89-96).

A hitherto little-known chapter in the story of Confederation.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

BLANCHARD, J. H. *Histoire des Acadiens de l'Île du Prince-Edouard*. Imprimé à l'occasion du voyage du *Devoir* à l'Île du Prince-Edouard, les 10 et 11 août, 1927. Moncton, N.B.: Imprimerie de l'Evangéline. 1927. Pp. 120; illustrations.

A history of French settlement in Prince Edward Island.

CANADA: DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. *The maritime provinces since Confederation: A statistical study of their social and economic condition during the past sixty years*. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1926. Pp. vi, 139.

A valuable study in social and economic history.

HARVEY, D. C. *The maritime provinces and Confederation* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 39-45).

An essay on some aspects of the union of the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with Canada in 1867.

PATTERSON, G. *An unexplained incident of Confederation in Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1928, pp. 442-446).

A little "history behind the scenes," connected with the entrance of Nova Scotia into Confederation.

WEBSTER, J. CLARENCE. *Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres and The Atlantic Neptune* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. xxi, section 2, pp. 21-40).

An account of the life and work of the surveyor to whom we owe the greater part of the coastal maps of the maritime provinces.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BELCOURT, Senator N. A. *French Canada under Confederation* (Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1927, pp. 29-38).

An account of the progress and development of the French Canadians of the province of Quebec since 1867.

'BERNEVAL.' *Thomas Lee, était-il d'origine anglaise?* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, décembre, 1927, pp. 726-728.)

A discussion of the origin of the family of Thomas Lee, an early notary of Quebec.

BOUCHER DE LABRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE. *La mort de Jacques Boucher de Montizambert* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, janvier, 1928, pp. 12-19).

Documents relating to the history of the Boucher family.

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